

OCT 25 1948

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Devoted to *Scientific Study* of Rural Life

VOLUME 13

SEPTEMBER, 1948

NUMBER 3

The Mexican Immigrant.....Norman D. Humphrey

Contemporary Rural Life.....Neal Gross

Discussion.....T. Wilson Longmore

Technological Diffusion.....Bryce Ryan

Social Participation Scale.....Donald G. Hay

Teacher Tenure.....Wayne T. Gray

Control of Child-Spacing.....W. A. Anderson

Notes.....Edited by Robin M. Williams, Jr.

Current Bulletin Reviews.....Edited by Walter C. McKain, Jr.

Book Reviews.....Edited by O. D. Duncan

News Notes and Announcements.....Edited by Leland B. Tate

Official Organ of *the*
RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

PUBLISHED BY THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE
OF AGRICULTURE AND ENGINEERING
University of North Carolina

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Published Quarterly

BOARD OF EDITORS

HOWARD W. BEERS, *Editor*.....University of Kentucky
C. HORACE HAMILTON, *Managing Editor*.....N. C. State College
GEORGE W. HILL, *Associate Editor*.....University of Wisconsin
RUPERT P. VANCE, *Associate Editor*....University of North Carolina
ROCKWELL C. SMITH, *Associate Editor*....Garrett Biblical Institute
SELZ C. MAYO, *Assistant Managing Editor*.....N. C. State College

DEPARTMENTAL EDITORS

Book Reviews: OTIS D. DUNCAN, Oklahoma A & M College
Current Bulletins: WALTER C. MCKAIN, JR., University of Connecticut
Research Notes: ROBIN WILLIAMS, JR., Cornell University
Society Notes: LELAND B. TATE, Virginia Polytechnic Institute

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

| | |
|---|---|
| MANUEL GAMIO, Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, Mexico D. F. | CARL C. TAYLOR, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA |
| CARNEIRO LEAO, Universidade do Brazil | KIMBALL YOUNG, Queens College |
| JUAN L. TENEMBAUM, Universidad de la Plata, Argentina | EDMUND DES. BRUNNER, Columbia University |
| S. M. WADHAM, University of Melbourne, Australia | W. A. ANDERSON, Cornell University |
| M. L. WILSON, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture | LUIGI G. LIGUTTI, National Catholic Rural Life Conference |
| MICHEL CEPEDÉ, France | T. LYNN SMITH, Vanderbilt University |
| B. YOUNGBLOOD, Office of Experiment Stations, USDA | |

SPONSOR

NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND ENGINEERING
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

RURAL SOCIOLOGY is published by the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, University of North Carolina, Raleigh, North Carolina, in March, June, September and December.

Membership dues in the society, including subscription, are \$3.50 per year; student members, \$2.00 per year. Subscription rates to non-members and libraries are \$3.50 per year: single issues, 90 cents.

Manuscripts, communications for the editors, and business correspondence should be addressed to the Managing Editor, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina. Books for review, bulletins for review, research notes, and news notes should be sent directly to the appropriate departmental editor.

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Raleigh, North Carolina, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Copyright, 1948, by the Rural Sociological Society

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME 13

SEPTEMBER, 1948

NUMBER 3

CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| <i>The Cultural Background of the Mexican Immigrant.</i> By Norman D. Humphrey | 239 |
| <i>Sociological Variation in Contemporary Rural Life.</i> By Neal Gross | 256 |
| <i>Discussion of Neal Gross' Paper.</i> By T. Wilson Longmore | 269 |
| <i>Rejoinder to T. Wilson Longmore's Discussion.</i> By Neal Gross | 271 |
| <i>A Study of Technological Diffusion.</i> By Bryce Ryan | 273 |
| <i>A Scale for the Measurement of Social Participation of Rural Households.</i> By Donald G. Hay | 285 |
| <i>Factors Affecting Teacher Tenure in the Appalachian Highlands.</i> By Wayne T. Gray | 295 |
| <i>The Control of Child-Spacing in University Graduate Families.</i> By W. A. Anderson | 307 |
| <i>Notes.</i> Edited by Robin M. Williams, Jr. | 315 |
| <i>Statement of Policy and Current Research Projects of Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Bureau of Agricultural Economics.</i> .. | 315 |
| <i>Current Bulletin Reviews.</i> Edited by Walter C. McKain, Jr. | 325 |
| <i>Book Reviews.</i> Edited by O. D. Duncan | 331 |
| Taylor, <i>Rural Life in Argentina.</i> By N. L. Whetten | 331 |
| Griswold, <i>Farming and Democracy.</i> By Lowery Nelson | 332 |
| Jones, <i>The Hatfields and the McCoys.</i> By Carle C. Zimmerman | 332 |
| Koos, <i>Families in Trouble.</i> By Mattie Cal Maxted | 333 |
| Liddell, <i>With A Southern Accent.</i> By J. L. Charlton | 333 |
| Blount, <i>Green Farm.</i> By Arthur Raper | 334 |
| Doughterty, <i>Savagery to Civilization.</i> By C. Morton Hanna | 334 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Whyte, <i>The Next Development in Man</i> . By L. L. Bernard..... | 335 |
| Bowman, <i>Marriage for Moderns</i> . By Merton D. Oyler..... | 335 |
| Durand, <i>The Labor Force in the United States 1890-1960</i> . By H. W. Pfautz..... | 336 |
| Monatt, <i>1948 Farmers Income Tax</i> . By G. K. Terpening..... | 336 |
| Lindstrom, <i>American Farmers' and Rural Organizations</i> . By W. H. Stacy..... | 337 |
| Maynard, <i>Russia in Flux</i> . By A. Vucinich..... | 338 |
| Cox, <i>Caste, Class, and Race</i> . By Neal Gross..... | 339 |
| <i>Place of Psychology in an Ideal University</i> . By R. R. Renne..... | 340 |
| <i>Integration of the Humanities and the Social Sciences:</i> <i>A Symposium</i> . By John C. Belcher..... | 240 |
| <i>Community Planning for Peacetime Living</i> . By Ray E. Wakeley..... | 341 |
| Derbigny, <i>General Education in the Negro College</i> . By G. Franklin Edwards..... | 341 |
| Carr, <i>Situational Analysis—An Observational Approach to</i> <i>Introductory Sociology</i> . By Edgar A. Schuler..... | 342 |
| Dunaway, <i>History of Pennsylvania</i> . By Carle C. Zimmerman..... | 342 |
| Moore, <i>Brensham Village</i> . T. Lynn Smith..... | 343 |
| Martin, <i>The Direct Primary in Idaho</i> . By Harold W. Pfautz..... | 344 |
| Strecker and Appel, <i>Discovering Ourselves</i> . By Raymond F. Sletto... | 344 |
| Pierson, <i>Graduate Work in the South</i> . By Edmund deS. Brunner..... | 345 |
| Spring, <i>War Without End and Peace Through Principle</i> . By Eugene Smathers..... | 345 |
| Coon, <i>A Reader in General Anthropology</i> . By Carl C. Taylor..... | 346 |
| <i>News Notes and Announcements</i> . Edited by Leland B. Tate..... | 351 |

The Cultural Background of the Mexican Immigrant

By Norman D. Humphrey†

ABSTRACT

The town of Tecolotlan, Jalisco contains generic features of culture and society which are roughly representative of the many communities from which Mexicans migrated to the United States. A mestizo, Spanish speaking community, Tecolotlan is a farming center with some small household industries. Over the past forty years it has undergone a number of changes incidental to the transformations of the system of land tenure, and the development of altered means of transportation. The change from economic and political domination by large haciendas to partial ascendancy of agrarian communities has altered the form, if not the significance, of social stratification. Major segments of institutional arrangements, such as education and the schools, religion and the church, and the family are briefly analyzed and their functional roles are described.

There is no single Mexican community which is completely representative of immigrant origins. But Tecolotlan, Jalisco¹ is more or less representative of those from which Mexicans have come to the United States. Manuel Gamio in his *Mexican Immigration to the United States* indicates that the State of Jalisco, together with adjacent states in the central plateau contributed disproportionately to the emigration of the 1920's. Ruth Tuck in her *Not With the Fist* had indicated that towns of some 3,000 population were frequent points of migrant's origins. The town

was selected for study after an automobile tour of the area.

Tecolotlan lies in a river valley 117 kilometers roughly southwest of Guadalajara. A gravel highway skirts the town. This highway extends in a northeast-southwest direction intercepting the Guadalajara-Mexico City Highway about 40 miles east of the town, and terminating in the Pacific coast port of Barra de Navidad some 100 miles to the west. The town is surrounded by sparsely wooded mountains and is capable of growing tropical and semi-tropical plants and fruits.

The techniques employed in getting information have been largely those of casual observation and participation in the life of the community. Direct questioning of informants was also used. From the beginning I tried to make clear that I was in Tecolotlan in order to learn something of Mexican institutions and customs with the object of making the life of persons in a typical Mexican town more understandable to Americans.

† Wayne University.

¹ Field work was undertaken and three months were spent in the town in the fall of 1944 under a Rackham post-doctoral fellowship from the University of Michigan. Work was again resumed in the summer of 1945, some of which time was spent with informants from the town who were living in Guadalajara. Field work was again resumed in February, 1947 and was carried on until last June under a grant from the Viking Fund. Several natives of Tecolotlan who were living in Detroit, Michigan, were interviewed there at various times during 1945 and 1946. Similar interviewing has been conducted in Los Angeles during the summer of 1947.

A number of my informants in Tecolotlan were persons who had at one time worked in the United States, and who, by that token, had some cross-cultural perspective.

The present paper is based upon as yet uncompleted field work. Only some "highlights" can here be presented of socio-cultural data from Tecolotlan, and, insofar as the town is representative, of the community and cultural background of the Mexican immigrant.

The Community

The town of Tecolotlan lies in a valley 1,280 meters above sea level. It is the "county seat" (Cabecera Municipal) for the *municipio* of the same name. The population of the town in 1940 was 4,266 persons, and persons in the *municipio* numbered 10,940. The *municipio* in 1940 had an area of 746 square kilometers, with a population density of 14.66 persons per square kilometer. If census figures are to be credited, only 35 of the persons enumerated in 1940 were born outside of the entity. Everyone in Tecolotlan speaks Spanish as his native tongue, and there are no persons, to my knowledge, who speak Indian languages. Between ten and fifteen per cent of the population gives the impression of not having genetic features. Nor are Negroid physical traits noticable. The general impression one gets is that of a mixed Indian-white population.

Population Antecedents

Historical data bearing directly on the town are meager and incomplete.

According to an account of the founding of the convent of St. Augustin in 1599 it was conquered by Capitan Francisco Cortes and its population was converted to Catholicism by Padre Fr. Juan de Padilla. Shortly after the founding of the convent some 150 "*indios casados*" were indicated to be living there. Sometime later, in what was probably the eighteenth century, there were (in round figures) 750 Spaniards, 250 Indians, 475 mulattoes and 250 persons of other castes.

The Town's Appearance

The Census of 1940 breaks down the population aggregates in the *municipio* into the following "political categories": one *villa*; six *congregaciones*; three *haciendas* and 83 *ranchos*.

The central *villa* is, of course, the town of Tecolotlan. It stretches narrowly along the east side of a shallow stream bed for a distance of four kilometers and is rarely more than a kilometer in width. It is hemmed in on the east by a hillside. The principal streets are paved with cobblestones, with occasional dips for the water from the *loma* to run off in the rainy season. There is nothing but surface storm drainage so that the principle north-south street in some places is covered with a three to four foot deposit of upland gravel. Only two or three of the streets going to the *loma* are capable of ascent in an automobile.

The Plaza

The main square or plaza is the center of the town both geographi-

cally and in social dominance. The plaza itself is a green oasis of trees and flowers, in the center of which is a bandstand and bordering which is a broad tile walk. At each corner of the plaza there are round, brick "fountains" into which drinking water has been piped. The water comes from mountain springs several miles north of town through foot square aqueducts that are as frequently open as closed. These, together with two other *pilas*, constitute the main outlets for the town's drinking water, although virtually every house in the plaza area has a well in its patio with water for washing purposes. Only a few houses have running water piped in to them, and not more than six have flush toilets.

The smallest and oldest of the three churches, *el santuario*, faces the plaza. On three sides of it the stores fronting on the plaza lie behind arched arcades or *portales*, and on the side lacking *portales* are the municipal government buildings and jail. The town is further divided into four *sectores* each of which is composed of square blocks or *manzanas*. These in turn are numbered, but functionally, if not politically, the important divisions are *barrios* or neighborhoods, residence in which, in a large degree, indicates the prestige and status a person will possess. By and large, the *principales* of the town live in homes behind stores fronting on the plaza, or in houses within a block of it. The farther from the plaza one lives the greater the likelihood of one being an

agrarista; the closer, the greater the likelihood of nostalgically musing about the days of Don Porfirio.

The *barrios* away from the plaza have received nicknames which brand their inhabitants. One way in which to climb in the social structure is to get the wherewithal to leave one of the outlying *barrios* and open a store, with a home behind it, on the plaza. Inter-barrio rivalry apparently rarely has taken the form of fights between members of *barrios*, nor are there *barrio* chapels nor *barrio* saints. But if a wedding in an outlying *barrio* occurs neighbors will gather to dance to the *mariachi* music. And if the rain is late in coming in June, an informal group of *barrio* members may petition the priest to take the life size *crucifijo*, *El Senor de Socorro* to some point in the *barrio* where the group can pray and chant hymns for rain.

There are little stores usually at street corners in the outlying *barrios*. But the "big stores," those with perhaps a hundred feet of floor space, are around the plaza or extend into the block south where the big church is located. The state school is a block away from the plaza in a northerly direction. The electric light plant with its mill for grinding prepared *maize* into *masa* for *tortillas* is a block from the plaza and the church.

It is under the *portales* that fresh vegetables are sold, and the *terrazzas* where one can buy alcoholic beverages are there.

Puestos which purvey soft drinks line the street adjacent to the plaza. What there is of a market is located

under the *portales*. The professionals—two doctors and a dentist—have their offices there or are within a block of the plaza. The two movie theaters (one in an old cockpit) are also within a block of it.

People sit on plaza benches throughout the day, and especially on Sundays, when they come in from the ranches to go to church, to get drunk, or to listen to the *mariachis* in the bandstand. Boy meets, flirts with and courts girl in the Sunday night plaza promenade. And the plaza is the center of activity during the only period when people momentarily forget that the town is rent in two by class distinctions and economically motivated hatreds. It becomes a single community during the February celebration of the ten day festival of *Carnival*.

Hotels and Restaurants

There are no hotels, in a real sense, in the town. Two *pensiones* are near the plaza, and several *mesones* in which animals can be also kept are there. Only one of the *pensiones* continues to serve food. If one wants to eat he can buy cooked meat and tortillas at one of the several *mesas* set up each morning and night in the street in front of the *portales*. The town does possess two restaurants, but they are on the road at the edge of town and obtain almost all of their patronage from the busses plying between Guadalajara and towns lying closer to the coast.

Housing and Household Equipment

Houses in town are made largely of adobe brick. They front without

space between them on the tile sidewalks, and usually contain a series of rooms arranged around an enclosed court or patio. The houses of those who can afford it are plastered white over the adobe. Rooms have fifteen to eighteen foot ceilings. The roofs are red-tiled as are the floors of the better homes. Within the home, straight chairs and wooden tables line the arcaded parts facing the patios.

Bedrooms of the upper class homes are equipped with brass beds. Thin mattresses are often placed over boards. Beds in lower class homes often consist of saw horses between which boards have been stretched. Only the very poor have *petates* or pallets. Family portraits, and religious images decorate chests in bedrooms. Closets are virtually nonexistent. If the house possesses electric light, it usually flows from a bulb dangling on a single cord hanging from the center of the room.

A cooking shed is in one corner of the patio. The stove is made of cement, although some upper class persons possess kerosene stoves. There are often no facilities for baking. *Tortillas* are cooked on a flat steel or iron plate. Fuel is usually charcoal for the upper classes and corn cobs and kindling wood for the lower. The patios of poor families often serve as corrals for chickens and pigs, if they have them. But even in the patios of the poor, flowers and other decorative plants are also grown. Usually there is a well in the courtyard, but rarely are vegetables grown for food in this

space. If one can afford pigs or cows, they are penned at the rear where the toilet is also placed. Facilities for washing dishes are next to the well. The house tends to be the woman's domain and, in a sense, it encloses and contains her activities.

Cooking and Meals

Much of a woman's time is spent in household tasks. Corn is soaked with lime to make *nixtamal* and taken in the morning to one of the several power mills to be ground into the dough from which tortillas are made. Beans are soaked, cooked with lard, and refried. Meat is hung on hooks to be broiled or stewed. Chili is prepared by grinding on a stone slab with a pestle. The thin gruel of those who cannot afford milk is prepared and strained from corn. If there are very few animals, it is a woman's job to feed them, although this is an area in which the sexual division of labor is least clearly demarcated. Women in the lower classes make almost all of the family clothing from yard goods bought in the stores.

Transportation

Since 1929 busses have come more or less regularly into Tecolotlan. Bus traffic increased considerably after the highway to Guadalajara was grav-eled in 1934. Prior to that time, one could go two days by horseback to Ameca where the train would take one north to Nogales or south to Guadalajara. For a time a railway short line ran to Cocula, a day's trip to the east on horseback. In the days prior

to the gravel road *Caminos Reales* existed, and still exist in ill-repair. It is only eight kilometers, for example, over the *loma* by *Camino Real* to the town of Tenamaxtlan northwest of Tecolotlan and the Guadalajara-Tenamaxtlan mail is still carried daily from Tecolotlan to Tenamaxtlan by burro and horse. But almost anyone prefers to wait for the single bus which daily traverses the twenty kilometer gravel road in preference to walking it or going by horseback.

The major means of transportation of goods within the *municipio* is by burro train. Several centers of population each containing at least 300 persons can be reached by truck only with the greatest difficulty and with danger to the truck. Burro trains transporting bags of charcoal and wood from the hills and corn and other products from the fields are common sights passing the plaza.

The first automobile was brought into the town in 1921, but it could go nowhere but in the town, and gasoline for it had to be transported from Ameca by burro and mule. The first truck, which was subsequently converted into the first bus, was a Model T Ford brought in when the Cristero revolutionary dangers had subsided. Today, twelve or fourteen regularly scheduled busses pass daily through the town. While only three or four passenger automobiles are today owned and operated in the *municipio*, there are now some fifteen or more trucks, subject to hire, transporting goods mostly back and forth to Guadalajara. The railroad spur to Cocula

has been torn out. The long trains of mules which during the days of Don Porfiro carried *coquitos* and rice from coastal areas have long since disappeared. *Carretas* drawn by oxen are employed for short, heavy hauls within the town.

Communication

A telegraph line connects Tecolotlan with Guadalajara and hence with the world, and a single telephone line connects Tecolotlan with Juchitlan some twenty kilometers away which permits it thereby also to be able to send and receive telegrams. A private telephone line between the establishments of two brothers, one of whom owns a restaurant on the highway and the other a hardware store on the plaza permits communication only for a limited group over a two kilometer distance.

Mail is received and dispatched daily by bus. A postman delivers between 150 and 200 pieces of mail to all parts of the town. Somewhat less than a third of this mail is from persons living in the United States, and much of this North American mail contains money remittances to relatives. Newspapers and periodicals are also received by mail. The *secretario* of the *municipio* receives most of these periodicals, and then in turn sells them to persons who subscribe through him for them. About 45 daily papers are thus distributed, almost all of them within a short distance of the plaza. Of these, four are Mexico City dailies, and almost all of the rest are *El Informador* of Guadalajara.

The periodicals widely read are comic books among men and movie magazines among women. There were about 40 radios in the *municipio* in 1940. Few of them are run from batteries. Those running from electricity supplied by the power plant can only be utilized after 7:30 at night when the current is on. An upper class person may read *Selecciones* from the *Reader's Digest* but very few books are read, even by the group which considers itself the town elite.

Economic Life

The impression upper class informants tend to give of the economic life of the *municipio* during the Diaz regime was one dominated by large, bustling haciendas in which peace, order and abundance reigned. Operating peacefully besides these were a number of small ranches the owners of which made quite comfortable livings. The picture these same persons give today is one of economic anarchy with productivity of the area greatly decreased, and with disorder and poverty the hallmark of the agrarian communities which have developed from the large estates. The period between 1910 and 1930 was one of intermittent disorder with political revolutions, banditry, the growth of agrarianism and the loss of men through emigration. Lower class informants tend to explain change in the same terms but they come to quite different conclusions. They emphasize the elimination of feudalism, of peonage and the growth of civil and economic rights.

It is evident that a number of industries relating to the agriculture of the area have virtually been eliminated, and that the average farm worker is much more involved in a money economy than was his counterpart in 1910. Very little mescal, for example, is manufactured in the *municipio* today, nor is sugar cane developed into alcoholic beverages, although *panocha* is made. The ruins of factories on the edges of town attest to their one-time manufacture. Relatively little tobacco is now grown and no cigarettes are manufactured by hand as they formerly were.

In 1941 corn, beans and *garbanzas* were the leading agricultural products. Some 38 hectares were raising sugar cane. Coffee, tomatoes, potatoes and other crops were being cultivated as were a wide variety of tropical fruits. The "average man" in Tecolotlan today is a farmer, whether he be at the same time a merchant sitting on Sunday morning in front of his plaza store, or an *agrarista* unloading sacks of corn in front of the doctor's office to provide feed for the medico's seventy pigs.

The "average man" in another sense is also a member of an agrarian community. Despite the fact that he is no longer working for thirty-one centavos a day, (and not permitted by the *hacendado* to own a burro), he finds that he has to sell much of his crop to one of the town's money lenders or pig fatteners before he harvests it in order to be able to buy ungrowable necessities. And instead of the tyranny of the owner of the

hacienda, he may find that he has to "vote right" when the election of *ejido's* officials occurs, if he wishes to remain a member of the community.

Even in the *ejidos* few mechanical aids are employed in clearing the fields and putting in the crops. Ten times as many completely wooden as iron tipped plows exist. There is one tractor in the *municipio*. Much of the hillside corn land is not even ploughed. In general, agricultural methods are not unlike those of three hundred years ago. No fertilizer is employed in the fields and, if one is able to read, he plants his fields after consulting an almanac. But apart from prayers for rain, and if the ranch is large enough to afford it, a mass by the priest at the time of the harvest, little more supernaturalism is encountered in growing crops than one finds in a North American farm community.

The agrarian land reforms did not directly affect the ownership of animals. Today a number of persons whose lands were broken up continue to own large numbers of cattle or goats or pigs although the number is smaller than formerly. And they rent oxen to the *ejidos*. Herds of cows are daily driven from the pueblo into pasture lands and returned at night to be watered and milked. There are several cream separators in town, and several persons sell milk for local consumption. Goats are also milked, but their milk is almost wholly used to manufacture cheese and butter. It is a rare poor family within the pueblo that can afford to own a cow, how-

ever, and to use its milk for its own consumption needs.

Chickens are rather widely owned, and eggs are sold to merchants at about 15 centavos apiece. Eggs, in one sense, are the currency of the poor housewife. Many persons of considerable status in the town fatten pigs in the pens behind their patios, and one way to rise in the status structure is to profit from pig raising. But this is a gamble. Many a poor person has sunk his "capital" into a young porker only to sell it after several months labor and feeding costs, a sick and dying animal, to the man who makes *chicharones*.

Animals which are economically useful are objects of considerable care, and young goats may become children's pets, but the American concern with pet animals is strikingly absent. There were but two pet dogs that I observed in Tecolotlan, and one appropriately was named "Pachuco." Dogs learn to fend for themselves, and are the objects of much ill-humored rock throwing.

Town Industry

At first impression one might think there is virtually no industrial manufacture in Tecolotlan. But as one becomes better acquainted he realizes that there is considerable home industry. A native of Tecolotlan has several curio stores in Tijuana, and accordingly a great many *huaraches* are manufactured in Tecolotlan and sold directly to him for retail sale. Perhaps thirty people are engaged in the hand manufacture of

leather shoes which are contracted for in other parts of the country.

The school director augments his salary by manufacturing soda pop for consumption in the *municipio*. *Paletas*, or frozen sweet-water sticks are locally made. The town possesses its complement of candle makers, blacksmiths, brick and tile makers, soap manufacturers and the like. A number of men are engaged in manufacturing charcoal in the mountains above the town, and some lime is developed from kilns in the *municipio*. The coffee which is grown in the *municipio* is roasted and consumed in the area. An attempt, locally sponsored, to improve the town drinking water and utilize the hydroelectric power which could be generated was turned down by the local *principales* as requiring too much of an investment for local pocketbooks.

Town Commerce

The "big stores" face the plaza and tend to be general stores. There are perhaps twenty grocery stores which sell anything from kerosene to yard goods. Three drug stores exist which sell only drugs, patent medicines and health sundries. There are several bakeries, five or six pool halls, a hardware store, (which also contains an ancient printing machine,) and a number of barber shops. The stores give credit, sell at fixed prices, and, since there is no bank, often lend money through buying crops on "futures." Money lending frequently involves the signing of a bill of sale by the borrower, which if the loan

isn't repaid at what amounts to a forty or fifty per cent annual interest, means that he loses his security.

Employment

There is virtually no "unemployment" in the town. But the wages paid are so low that there are very limited chances on a local level for upward mobility in the social structure. Teachers, for example, in the state school get salaries of 70 pesos a month. Store employees get three pesos a day. Most young persons start independent lives when they rent land and grow crops. If oxen are rented for plowing they are paid for in grain at the time of the harvest.

Women have very limited avenues for employment. Clerking in grocery stores or teaching does not reduce prestige, but waiting on tables in one of the two highway restaurants does. Most girls who have to work outside of the home become maids in other homes. A maid in a *pension* gets ten pesos a week; in private homes she would get less.

Women rarely work in the agricultural fields; it would be virtually unthinkable for a man to do what is regarded as woman's work. Mexican migrants to the United States are often bewildered at the employment second generation women here undertake. Such work would be unthinkable in Mexico.

Status and Class

One is at first impressed with the clarity and sharpness of prestige and

status distinctions one witnesses in a Mexican small town. Deference is marked; avoidance is easily seen. But any attempts to analyze the congeries of values making for status categories results in considerable confusion for the analyst. Racial antecedents appear at first to have little meaning. But in time one notes that the plaza *principales* possess fewer Indian elements than people in the *loma*, and that the term Indian is used at times in a derogatory sense. There appears to be little cross-class marriage. But the two persons of humble and *mestizo* origins living on the plaza each married "White" girls. Clothing at first appears rather uniform. But one soon notices differences in the terms of address for those who wear jackets and shoes and those who drape blankets over their shoulders and wear sandals. In the end, one tends to feel that in a country in which family prestige and kinship loom so large and are proclaimed as important, that the final criterion of status is how much money and wealth one is assumed to have.

Wealth seems to determine the extent to which one is "*Don*" or "*patron*," where he can live and whom he can marry. Despite the seeming strength of class lines the popular expression in epithets for classes do not seem to connote the sharp distinctions which "*Los Correctos*" and "*Los Tontos*" do in Indian Tepoztlan.

The ambitious lower class boy may dream of escape from his class. He has examples of such escape and the prestige which ensues from it in

viewing many of the *commerciantes* of the plaza. But he knows that he will need much luck to accomplish that end. If he isn't able to go to the United States as virtually no poor man can today, (. . . like many of them did in the past . . .) and return with money he has saved, he may dream of finding pots of money buried during any one of a number of revolutions, as a means of securing a start.

Emigration

Those Tecolotlanese who have gone to the United States appear not to have been the poorest element in the population but, on the contrary, seem to have been drawn disproportionately from the independent farm laborer group, or from the sons of upper class merchants. An analysis of money orders sent to Tecolotlan, shows some ninety per cent were sent from California.

Those persons who have worked in the United States and returned are found in some numbers among the merchants in the town. They, on the whole, manifest an amazing amount of good will toward the United States. There is a great desire on the part of most young men to go to the United States. Our present immigration policy virtually prevents them from so doing, on a legal entry basis, and it is difficult to go as a contract laborer or *bracero*. Consequently, those who go now usually have enough money and dare-devil attitudes to attempt illegal entries. One function of our restrictive policy may

be to reduce the backlog of good will already present in rural Mexico.

Government and Law

One of the few avenues for acquiring some limited prestige and perhaps considerable wealth is through getting into government service. Boys have before them the example of the *Timbrero* who came to Tecolotlan ten years ago poor and wearing *huaraches*, and who recently was transferred to another town, married to a girl of a locally wealthy family, and is the only mescal distiller in the *municipio*.

Since the establishment of constitutional government in Mexico the Party of Revolutionary Institutions (under a variety of names) has dominated the Tecolotlanese political picture. Government tends to be centralized, with appointive state and federal officials. Even such a small matter as to who will be *presidente municipal* is largely determined by the party in Guadalajara. There is no direct local control, for example, over the appointment of the school director.

Before the revolution local government appears to have been run in the interest of the large land owners. Since the revolution the Party has found it convenient to select agrarian leaders, or persons who are friendly to the movement, for elective office. The party slate is usually unopposed.

Taxation extends to a number of things, like loads of pigs going to Guadalajara, which require stamps and clearance papers. Since it is often in the interest of local business men

to bribe tax collectors, they do so. Thus the *mordida* has become almost endemic, and the one party system has been accepted in a resigned way by the statused upper class. Every man in local government is felt to have his price and no favor tends to be too small for payment. Consequently a minimal actual taxation occurs, assets are hidden, and crimes are committed with full knowledge that justice, even if its wheels are set in motion, can be bought. For the thirty-two murders which were committed in the *municipio* last year, no murderer, to my knowledge, is in prison.

An attempt was made last year to have a non-agrarian "rich man" the favored candidate of the state officials of the PRI, through manipulation within the party in Guadalajara and outside of the sanction of the party representatives of the *municipio*. This resulted in the development of an "independent" group (actually the Tecolotlan functionaries of the PRI) electing an "independent" (actually *agrarista*) slate for the municipal offices.

Those who oppose the *Agraristas* want the same things in actuality which the *Sinarquista* group poses as its ends. But to my knowledge there are only five members of the *Sinarquista* group in Tecolotlan, and since they are all poor agricultural workers, the "elite" of the town will have nothing to do with them.

There is a military installation in Tecolotlan. It consists of a colonel, a captain and a lieutenant. But there are many agrarian reserves, who

have guns and are drilled in the plaza on occasion. The function of the military is much more to report on the condition of internal security than to maintain national defense. The military, like other aspects of government, tends to be regulatory in its functions, rather than moving in directions of constructive efforts toward community betterment.

Health and Welfare

Tecolotlan possesses two physicians and a dentist, all graduates of professional schools in Guadalajara, and a hospital-trained nurse. It had trained health personnel in pre-revolutionary days. Several years ago a doctor from the state department of public health had offices in Tecolotlan, and an inspector from that service had headquarters there. Today, a public health nurse gives injections to school children as they appear to need them. There is a hospital run by the Madres de Caridad, but it has no operating room, and is little more than asylum for some poor, sick people. The more competent of the two physicians is said to be more interested in raising pigs than in practicing medicine, and since there is widespread questioning of the competence of the other doctor, even those who can afford the services of trained physicians do not give them much patronage. The dentist is colloquially known as "*El Monje Loco*" and has few patients.

By the time children get to school a biologic weeding process has taken place. No infant mortality statistics have been obtained or computed, but

it is not improbable that between one-fourth and one-half of the children born alive die within the first year of life.

The public drinking water is not purified. There is no refrigeration of foodstuffs, nor is there purification of milk. A smallpox epidemic hit the region in 1944, and deaths from typhoid are not infrequent. Malaria is endemic to the region. Bathing is infrequent except for river baths during the rainy season. Two places in the *municipio* make a pretense of having screens to keep out flies.

Only the upper class engage the physician in the wife's pregnancy and delivery, midwives being employed, if not simply adult women family members or neighbors. For most aches and pains folk medicine is utilized, although several store keepers make an occasional peso as *curanderos*, and are not above giving injections if the occasion demands it. Upper class persons scoff at such beliefs as the evil eye causing sickness, but it would be a rare farm laborer or servant girl who didn't believe wholeheartedly in them. It was difficult to learn how many *hechizeros* operated in the town, but there were several and apparently proportionately more in isolated ranches in the *municipio*.

Some *hechizeros* were even imported from distant towns for difficult cases. There is no organized charity in the town. Relatives or neighbors take care of cases of extreme want. There are three or four professional and elderly beggars in the plaza area, but they have their

appointed rounds and don't beg indiscriminately. Each year at Christmas the school teachers put on a play (with students as actors), to help buy clothing for indigent pupils. People say that there is no hunger in Tecolotlan. There are always beans and tortillas.

Education and the Schools

Within the town itself there is a state supported school near the plaza, a federally supported school in the agrarian dominated southern end of the town and a Catholic school run by the nuns in the hospital. Of the 9,600 persons in the *municipio* in 1930, 2,500 could read and write; of the 10,900 in 1940, 4,100 could do so. Literacy rates were undoubtedly much lower under the hacienda system than they are today. But the much vaunted recent program to raise literacy has hardly affected Tecolotlan. Nothing has been undertaken in the town itself.

Education in the *ejidos* and ranches is under federal jurisdiction, but perhaps one-fourth of the youngsters there never get inside of a school building. There is only a primary school in the town. Secondary schooling means residence in Guadalajara. Only the wealthy can afford this. Of the several hundred children who begin school each year, only fifteen or twenty graduate from the sixth and final grade. The director alone had more than a primary school education of the state school faculty of fifteen. Education is not strongly regarded as an instrument of upward mobility,

and very few working-class persons even have the concept of sacrifice to keep children in school.

The primary curriculum does not include instruction in the practice of agriculture. Perhaps every two or three years a short-lived "academy" for instruction in typing and book-keeping is instituted.

On the part of the upper class, there is some nostalgic musing about the greater adequacy of education when church schools were the primary means of education. The local priest has instructed some parents that attendance by their children at the local school constitutes a sin. Little book-learning is deemed necessary for the average person in the town. The teachers have little status, and the school does not serve as a social center. An attempt to improve the school building by matching governmental funds with a 10,000 peso gift from a former resident of the town proved fiasco.

Religion and the Church

In 1940 the Census of the *municipio* listed 17 persons without religion, 6 Protestants and 10,916 Catholics. There are undoubtedly more Protestants and more unbelievers, but it is impolitic to be either. The church looms for most persons as the central institution in community life, and the priest in many ways is the most influential functionary. He and his institution intervene or are called upon to sanction many important events in the life cycle. But the priest has constantly to reckon with the power and

officials of the state, and especially since the Cristero revolution his role has been sharply limited. It would appear that the church in the past invariably threw its weight on the side of the wealthy landed group, and consequently in the church-state conflict which led to the closing of the churches, to the hanging of two priests and to the desecration of religious edifices during that revolution, the church's temporal powers were curtailed. But a Protestant movement and church were also destroyed in the conflict. Today, the same *agrarias* who desecrated the altars during the revolution, or the Cristeros who murdered and robbed to the slogan of "Live Christ King" sit side by side on Sundays and numerous holy days in the performance of ceremonies and rituals. Yet they shun and avoid each other in the plaza.

The forms and rituals connected with birth, baptism, naming, confirmation, confession, communion, engagement, marriage and death cannot be described in this brief space. It is sufficient to say that they are regarded by most of the people of Tecolotlan as vitally necessary sanctions, and that they involve duties and obligations, and extensions of kinship.

Except for two political holidays and the relatively secular festival of *Carnival*, just preceding Lent, the calendrical round of church ceremony is the core of community life for most persons in Tecolotlan. To an outsider there is much more church emphasis in the context of orthodox supernaturalism on the "sacred" object and

"holy" form, than on the "ethically" moral or the "righteous."

Unorthodox supernaturalism has much greater class connections than has the orthodox. Superstitions connected with pregnancy and death, for example, are much more likely to be encountered among lower class persons than among their superiors in status. But church attendance and upholding the faith appear to be almost as common among men as among women in Tecolotlan. To be sure one of the few ways in which women can make excursions out of the home is by going to church, but one does not often encounter the notion that religion is primarily a thing for women and children.

Kinship and the Family

Reckoning of kinship is an extremely meaningful phenomenon for the persons in Tecolotlan. Relationship is sometimes reckoned to the fifth generation, and family control over its members is strong in comparison with that in a comparable American community. The mean family size is perhaps six persons, and one-child families are extremely rare. First cousin marriage is forbidden by law and requires church permission, but it is not unusual, especially among upper class persons, for mates to be kin. Kinship terminology and obligations differ from American norms.

The father as breadwinner and family head is accorded a great deal of respect by his wife and children. This appears true regardless of the family's class position. The father

has power and authority over his wife and children, and married sons continue to bow in some areas to his judgment. He shows more affection to his children than to his wife. He is extremely jealous and protective of his wife and female children, especially in areas of sexual advances. And he is correspondingly more likely to be honestly faithless in these areas. The wife and mother has a subordinate, home-centered role with reference to her husband. It is a rare woman who rebels against this subordination. (The American equalitarian middle class family is most likely to occur, and this rarely, among the town's elite.) A man would not contemplate living with a faithless wife; the opposite is so usual as to be almost normal.

Grandparents extend parental relationships for children, as do religious *padrinos* and *compadres*. Most families have both religious and civil sanctions for the unions, and while free unions are not uncommon among the lower classes, children are given religious relatives at baptism and at confirmation.

Childless unions are rare, and illegitimate children are frequent. Upper class men will brag of how many children they have at home, and how many in other places. Women do not employ birth control devices, regarding offspring as things that God has willed, although many hope through nursing to space babies. (Actually some men use prophylactics.)

Pregnancy is surrounded by folk beliefs regarding diet, and even poor

women will eat chicken broth as a strengthener during pregnancy. Birth invariably takes place in the home, with midwives, even in the upper class, aiding in delivery. (Lemon juice is placed in the eyes of children, if the doctor's or nurse's silver nitrate isn't employed.) Neighbors usually help the family both before and after delivery.

The mother tends to remain at home for a month after the birth. Children are breast fed, and if for some reason this is impossible, are wet nursed. Upper class mothers tend to breast feed on a schedule, but lower class women nurse their babies when they seem to want it.

Sibling rivalry is not as evident or pronounced as in American culture, and its existence is generally denied. Children are held and cuddled a great deal, and often sleep under their mother's *rebozos* as they are carried. They are weaned anywhere from ten months to a year and a half after birth, often by making the breast unpalatable with bitter herbs, and they are toilet trained somewhat later. This training is facilitated by the absence of underclothing in children. Babies will be lugged around by sisters who are perhaps a year or two older.

Babies are usually named for the saint's day on which they are born, but among the upper class there is a tendency to choose any saint's name which the parents like. Children are supposed to be baptized within eight days of their births, but often are not until they are sick. Confirmation

takes place when the Bishop comes to town, so that an infant may be confirmed and baptized within the same year. *Compadres* are chosen for these occasions.

Children are early integrated into the church round of ceremonies and one of the Sunday masses is especially for children's attendance. Little spanking or ordering and forbidding is evident in the training of children. A great deal of affection is shown them and such instrumentalities as shame and fear give rise to such difficult-to-define personality traits as docility, conformity, modesty, a considerably emphasized obedience and respect toward elders and, in youth and adulthood, an elaborate courtesy and hospitality. All of these "traits," however, relate also to repression of elements of self. They undoubtedly are dynamically related to the exaggerated necessity of maintaining "face" or "honor" as adults and to violent expressions of revenge and sudden anger.

The segregation of the sexes begins in early play groups, is accentuated in school, and by the division of labor in youth and adulthood. With the coming of puberty, boys are allowed increasing freedom of movement, and girls are more and more confined in their activities. Freedom or restraint is particularly evident in sexual areas of living. By fourteen or fifteen boys have usually had access to local prostitutes, while girls "officially" know nothing of their sexual roles in marriage, until they are instructed in them just prior to marriage. The

serenata, in which even eight-year-olds may participate, is the primary source for meeting potential sweethearts. Courtship goes on surreptitiously and at night. Girls sit in barred front windows of their parents' homes and talk with sweethearts. Young men are rarely admitted to the homes even if only to sit and talk with sweethearts under the eyes of chaperones. In the past, letters were formally written, often by "professionals," proposing marriage. But today, the proposal is made by a priest or upper class person, who calls on the girl's father and extolls the virtues of the young man. Engagements may last as much as two years but don't usually permit a boy's entrance into his *novia's* house. With all of this elaborate protection, seduction becomes a male goal and a game.

Illegitimacy, even among the upper class, is thus not uncommon, but it usually negates the possibility of marriage. The known father of an illegitimate child is rarely forced into marriage. Elopements, or more often here "escapes," occur, sometimes followed by civil marriage. But ordinarily they result in the girl returning to her parents pregnant and unmarried.

Civil marriage normally precedes a church ceremony, often by as much as three weeks, during which period the bride and groom are separated. A civil ceremony requires a license and a statement of health from the physician.

The poor are married in church after the five o'clock mass, and after bans have been read from the pulpit

for three weeks previously. The rich have more elaborate marriages and a special mass. The money for marriage fees is difficult to obtain and there is little inclination on the part of the priest to practice a "sliding scale." A lower class man may be 20 or 21; an upper class man 25 when he marries. The girl in most cases would be several years younger.

The couple rarely lives with the groom's parents after marriage. A new adobe house can be constructed by three men in eight days. Parent-in-law trouble is not uncommon, especially among the upper classes. Desertion is extremely rare. In 1940 there were only twelve divorced persons in the *municipio*. There are more widows than widowers. Widows may remarry and if they do, tend to do so during Lent.

Play and Recreation

Much of one's life is lived out-of-doors in Tecolotlan, and recreation is largely of an unplanned, casual character. Within the town and for residents of the plaza area Friday afternoon is the day of recreation. On Friday the stores close at the usual time of one-thirty, but they don't reopen at the usual three-thirty. Cliques of merchants and their wives will join at one of their homes to eat and drink, and perhaps play dominoes. Much recreation consists of informal chatting in the plaza, or in stores or pool rooms. Class lines are rarely crossed in these gatherings. Nor are they crossed at dances or fiestas occasioned by such events as the brand-

ing of cattle at a ranch or in the dance celebrating a civil marriage. Birthdays, wedding anniversaries, and the like are usually celebrated among the upper class by dinners, before, during and after which beer and tequila flow freely. Drinking is a form of recreation frequently enjoyed. If a *fiesta* involves a family group, children will drink surprising amounts without adult censure.

Sunday is a recreation day for farm people. After church in the morning and gossiping over the wares of Guadalajara interlopers under the *portales*, one can drink in the *terrazas* or climb the loma to the soccer field and watch Tecolotlan compete against a neighboring town. Basketball is no longer played in the *jardin* in front of the rectory, nor do athletic teams command any community loyalty. Cockfights, although illegal, occur each Sunday afternoon in an orchard near the plaza. Each weekend one of the two movie theaters will alternate in putting on a double feature of one American western or mystery and a Mexican film. Only one film projector is employed, the sound track works perhaps two-thirds of the time. It is a rare showing in which the reels are run in correct sequence. One sits on wooden benches (in one theater they are those stolen from what was formerly the Protestant church) and fights abundant fleas. *Agraristas* tend to sit in the balcony or on the sides of the old cockpit and to throw cigarette butts at their "betters" below. The Sunday night movie com-

petes with the *serenata*, the promenade around the plaza. Boys go in one direction, girls in the opposite, interested persons giving and receiving flowers, under the watchful eyes of their elders.

The two big community fiestas occur in February and in June. They are the winter *carnival*, a ten-day period of amateur bullfights, "professional" drinking, and general letting off of energy, and the cockfights of the early summer. The cockfights pit local roosters against those from towns within a hundred-mile radius. Much betting takes place on the outcome of fights. Singers and other performers are hired to entertain the audience between fights. Permission must be granted by the governor to abrogate the law prohibiting such fights before they can occur.

Epilogue

Tecolotlan, Jalisco contains certain generic features in its nexus of institutions and usages which are also found in many other Mexican towns and villages from which Mexicans have come to the United States. Taken as a whole they present a body of material which can be roughly and heuristically employed in attempting to understand the behavior and retained customs of the Mexican in this country. Any single community, however, in its specific features contains constellations of elements which are at variance with those of other communities. The cultural background of the Mexican immigrant will be further clarified by comparative studies of such communities.

Sociological Variation in Contemporary Rural Life*

By Neal Gross†

ABSTRACT

Four community studies are analyzed to show the relative advantages of the concepts of *cultural isolation* and *rurality*. This analysis suggests that, in many types of investigations, it may be more advisable to establish theoretical frameworks in which the focus is centered on specific variables. *Cultural isolation* as a concept may offer keener insights and reveal more significant knowledge for the development of systematic theory than the use of the *rural-urban* dichotomy.

I. Introduction

To lump rural life into one category in contradistinction to urban life may be methodologically sound for certain types of sociological investigations. This practice, however, bears careful scrutiny.¹ This is so because a rural-urban-dichotomy approach to the study of social phenomena minimizes the existence of significant intra-rural or intra-urban variations. For example, in the *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* it is stated that:

...the rural world is marked by less numerous contacts per man, narrower areas of interaction of its members and the whole aggregate. More prominent part is occupied by primary

contacts. Predominance of personal and relatively durable relations. Comparative simplicity and sincerity of relations.²

However, these differential characteristics of the *rural and urban social worlds* may also exist between rural communities.³ It is highly probable that these same differentials may be found in a comparative analysis of the Amana colonies in Iowa and the highly urbanized rural community in central California. One could reason in similar manner for other presumed factors of differentiation. Thus, the rural-urban frame of reference tends to minimize the differentials within rural life and implies that because one is dealing with agriculture, a whole series of factors necessarily and ubiquitously follow.⁴ In Parsons' phraseology, an important residual area of analysis is waved

* Journal Paper No. 1494 of the Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station, Ames, Project 860. Special acknowledgment is due the Social Science Research Council for the fellowship award which made this study possible. The writer further wishes to express his thanks to Dr. C. A. Anderson, Dr. C. C. Taylor and Dr. R. E. Wakeley for a critical reading of early drafts of this manuscript. They are in no way responsible, of course, for the limitations of the analysis.

† Iowa State College.

¹ For a critical appraisal of the rural-urban dichotomy frame of reference see Neal Gross, *Sociological Variables and Cultural Configurations in Contemporary Rural Communities*, Ph.D. Dissertation (unpublished), Iowa State College, 1946, Ch. II.

² P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), I, 241.

³ It should be noted that such differentiations may also exist between urban communities.

⁴ Cf. T. Lynn Smith, *Sociology of Rural Life*, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940), p. 15; also D. Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, (New York: John Wiley and Sons), pp. 20-21

away by the dichotomous frame of reference.⁵

Existent sociological variations within rural life, therefore, may offer a rich research territory for sociologists. This paper reports the results of a systematic comparative analysis of four contemporary rural communities studied by other investigators.⁶ Four variable factors were selected for study. These were cultural isolation, intra-community social interaction, the family and religious systems.

In order to establish a framework for analysis, a continuum was developed for each variable factor. For example, a continuum of cultural isolation whose polarities represented the extreme theoretic possibilities of cultural isolation that could exist in rural communities was constructed. Then each community was separately probed and the available evidence was presented indicating the degree of cultural isolation existent in the community. After the individual analysis

of the four communities was completed, a comparative study of the four communities was undertaken in order to ascertain the variations between the communities on the factors studied. This paper presents some of the significant points of contrast found and notes the range of variation in the four communities studied.

II. The Comparative Analysis

A. Cultural Isolation

Initially, there exists a perceptible difference in the importance of diffusion agencies in the several communities. In Wheatville and Cornville,⁷ such links between the local and exterior world as the radio, newspapers, and magazines were important factors in the minimization of cultural isolation. The impact of these agencies assumed large importance for they tended to sunder the provincialism and to expand the horizon of interests of the people beyond the geographical limits of the local community. They listened to the same radio programs and read the same metropolitan papers as the metropolitan resident. On the other hand, El Cerrito and the Old Order Amish were noticeably lacking in these diffusion agencies. There were no radios in Amish homes while these communicative mechanisms were of slight importance in El Cerrito. There existed few newspapers and periodicals in the Spanish-American village while church prohibitions limited the read-

⁵ Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937), pp. 16-20.

⁶ United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, Rural Life Studies*: 1. El Cerrito, New Mexico, by Olen Leonard and C. P. Loomis; 2. Sublette, Kansas, by Earl H. Bell; 3. The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, by Walter M. Kollmorgen; and 4. Irwin, Iowa, by Edwin O. Moe and Carl C. Taylor. For criteria used in selection of the communities see Gross, *Op. cit.*, pp. 56-60. For a description of the procedures and techniques used in the individual studies, see C. C. Taylor "Techniques of Community Study and Analysis as Applies to Modern Civilized Societies" in Ralph Linton (ed.), *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 437-38.

⁷ Wheatville refers to the Sublette, Kansas, community and Cornville to the Irwin, Iowa, community.

ing matter of the Old Order Amish. Further, whereas the movies were an important recreational factor in Wheatville and Cornville, they were of little significance in El Cerrito and were prohibited by the Amish. To the Amish, movies were evil and conducive to immoral conduct. In the less culturally isolated communities, movies had been accepted as a permanent part of the recreational facilities of the community.

Another relevant factor in the determination of differential cultural isolation is the range of mobility of the individual. Whereas the Wheatville people considered their normal area of contacts no smaller than one hundred miles in diameter, the El Cerritans were confined in general to their tiny village settlement. The Cornville farmers did not recognize the geographical boundaries of a tightly enclosed community in their normal pattern of interaction with the outside world. For specialized goods and services they travelled thirty miles and more. Young people attended dances fifty and seventy-five miles distant from their homes, and people travelled many miles to witness a better movie than was showing in the local village center. The Amish in this respect offered an especially interesting situation. Although contacts were made with the city for the sale of their farm produce, nevertheless they were able to isolate themselves culturally from the urban centers. This facility to participate in economic relationships with urban centers and at the same time to divorce themselves

from urban non-economic contacts must be primarily attributed to the effectiveness of the powerful sacred sanctions that dominated the living patterns of this religiously oriented community. On the other hand it should be noted that in contradistinction to the El Cerrito grouping, the Amish did not live in a cloistered village. Their farms were spread over a large area in Lancaster County, and the people engaged in much inter-visiting among themselves. Thus, although the area of geographical mobility was not spatially restricted, yet the people with whom the Amish interacted on a highly personalized level were specifically designated. This points up the important consideration that cultural isolation is not necessarily a resultant of limited geographical mobility, but rather is closely related to the types of people one interacts with. Indeed it is true as in the case of the El Cerritans that geographical isolation often results in a delimitation of the individuals one interacts with; however, the Amish situation indicates that the cultural selectivity factor is of extreme significance and may occur without the existence of the geographical factor.⁸

The analysis of the individual communities also revealed variations in the attributes of the community in-

⁸ This analysis is not to be confused with Cooley's individualism of isolation and functional individualism since Cooley was concerned with individual isolation in the former concept, and with an individualism of choice in a highly specialized society in the latter. See C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918), pp. 93-94.

habitants themselves that tended to enhance or diminish the degree of cultural isolation. For example, the El Cerritans constituted a distinct racial group in which there existed a strong kinship pattern. Nearly every family was related to every other family. Again, the use of Spanish as the group language in opposition to the more frequent use of English in the Great Society limited, for example, the reading of newspapers printed in English. The Amish likewise tenaciously clung to the German language as a barrier to relationships with the outside world. On the other hand, Cornville and Wheatville were not marked by a distinctive linguistic, racial, or ethnic differential.

It should further be noted that whereas the basis of isolation in El Cerrito was an inability to participate in the Great Society due to the distinctiveness and insularity of the local culture, nevertheless there existed no overt policy and group determined decisions to maintain the differentiation. In this respect the cultural isolation was passive. The bases of differentiation were historically and culturally determined and there existed slight objections to the local people participating in the material advantages of the larger society. However, in the case of the Amish, the cultural isolation may be described as active. Here were found continued efforts to maintain the isolation of the group as an important function of the group.

One of the most significant aspects of cultural isolation is the socio-psychological factor of the existence or

lack of existence of a feeling of consensus with the Great Society. Here again, noticeable variations were in evidence. The Amish possessed their own unique culture and participated in an esoteric web of interrelationships that was limited to their own brethren. The El Cerritans, too, hardly recognized any interrelationships with the larger society. The extra-community events were largely a part of a strange and foreign world and the villagers did not feel that they were a part of the complex Great Society. Their inability to meet the Anglo on equal terms, the sense of inferiority that arose when they could not decipher variant cultural meanings and the existence of dissimilar system of norms resulted in the outside world being well nigh incomprehensible to the people of El Cerrito.

Cornville and Wheatville on the other hand had a great awareness of their interrelationships with the Great Society. The local residents read the same newspapers and attended the same movies as many non-rural groups. They possessed many of the same conveniences as other large segments of the population. Problems of national and international scope were recognized as of importance to the local community. These communities, then, were much more fully intermeshed with the Great Society and in consequence were marked by a relatively low degree of cultural isolation.

B. Intra-Community Interaction Systems

A comparative appraisal of the communities reveals that rural com-

munities can possess an interactional system in which there exist hardly any secondary group contacts, and on the other hand derived group relationships can be extremely important in community life. The Amish, for example, forbade specialized groupings and alliances with non-brethren with the consequence that there were no secondary groups within the community. Likewise, in El Cerrito, there existed not one association to which only a small segment of the community members belonged. The common linguistic, religious and ethnic ties served as a substructure for one large primary group, the village community.

On the other hand, in Cornville there existed special women's clubs and only a portion of the farm operators belonged to particular farm organizations. In Wheatville special associations served the manifold interests of particular community members. These groupings tended to segmentalize the relationship patterns into a series of discrete clusters of associational activity. Super-imposed upon primary group situations such as familial relations and visiting congenial persons was a variety of established groups in which the members met at a specific time and at a specific place for a specific limited purpose.

There further existed noticeable deviations in the intimacy and warmth in interaction between community members. This was especially noticeable in the amount and type of visiting between families and individuals. In El Cerrito and the Amish

community visiting was the most common form of communication between the local people. It was not found that there was no visiting in Wheatville and Cornville. But visiting had declined in importance. Other more impersonal forms of recreation had supplanted many phases of the former patterns of personalized interaction. One of the most popular forms of recreation in both Wheatville and Cornville was found to be attendance at movies. Listening to the radio was also another popular form of recreation that had supplanted the former use of leisure time in more personalized forms of interaction. Again, whereas in the Amish community the types of permissible recreation were extremely limited, in Cornville and Wheatville the fundamental criterion for recreational activities was individualized satisfaction. The availability and the use of the automobile had enlarged the scope of possible recreational activities and contacts with the result that the individual could select from a varied number of activities the type of enjoyment he desired.

In El Cerrito the very basis of farming was postulated on cooperation in the Ditch Association and frequent lending of tools and equipment was common. The women relied heavily on mutual cooperation in their work in the home. Harvesting was largely a family affair and division of the product was conducted on an informal basis. At the other extreme was Wheatville where the mechanized system of large scale farming had been generally adopted and where the

old pattern of neighborhood cooperation had almost completely broken down. These farm operators relied heavily on the village and town centers for specialized services rather than on a neighborly exchange system. Lending and borrowing were calculated activities rather than the informal procedures as in El Cerrito. In the Amish community and Cornville, there still existed some vestiges of cooperative activity, but it was evident that mutual aid was in the process of decline. Then too, in El Cerrito the individuals engaged in inter-association as full personalities. Each knew every other member of the community intimately, rather than in a specific role. A was known by B not merely as a member of a particular organization or as an individual whose residence was nearby. Rather A was known as a member of a particular family, as a member of the same church, as a member of the Ditch Association. He was recognized as belonging to a specific family group and his life history and idiosyncrasies were common knowledge. Among the Amish also, interaction between community members was conducted on a similar basis. It is not to be inferred that no interaction situations in Wheatville and Cornville occurred on the same level as in the other communities. However, the distinguishing characteristic between the communities is that in the latter ones, a host of relationships within the confines of the community were conducted on a segmental level whereas in the former nearly all intra-community interac-

tion was between individuals acting as complete and full personalities.

C. The Family Systems

The data certainly lend support to Cooley's thesis of the nature of human nature.⁹ It was within the framework of the personalized and intimate associational contacts of the family that the child learned the elemental necessary types of behavior to function as a social being. However, although the techniques used in this early period in the socialization process were in the main similar, yet the ideologies and the criteria of the normative systems inculcated to the child were dissimilar. In short, the patterns and the dominant themes of the several cultures were highly variant, and it was the parents' task to initiate the child into the localistic culture. In the Amish community the child had to be taught why he must act and live differently than the "unrighteous people" who did not subscribe to the beliefs of the Amish. The child was forbidden to mingle with "religious foreigners" and the core of the socialization process rested on his being separated physically, culturally and morally from outside influences. The socialization of the child included a stamping into the child's consciousness an ever present awareness that he belonged to a separationist community and to a family which he must not shame.

In El Cerrito, too, the family constituted the most important agency that transmitted the unique social

⁹ C. H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902).

heritage to the young. The universality of the Catholic church, however, did not necessitate a rationalization of the moral beliefs that the child must learn. In this respect, El Cerrito is to be differentiated from the Amish community. However, the high degree of cultural isolation resulted in the young people becoming sentimentally attached to the tiny village which was their only "cultural" world during the early years of personality development. Their range of contacts was limited to the periphery of the local community. The high degree of consanguinity in the community and the personalized associational system resulted in the establishment of intimate ties with the community and its members. With few upsetting or disturbing factors the family found it a relatively simple task to impart to the child the feeling of syngenism so characteristic of their village life. In alliance with the church and as an agent of the church, the family inculcated a strong feeling of religiosity and respect for parents and elders to the young.

In Cornville and Wheatville, too, the family represented the most significant agency that laid the foundation for the personality structure of the developing child. However, in these communities there was found no overt effort to convey to the child the feeling that he was different from people who did not reside in his own community. The families rather treated their children as individual personalities who must take advantage of the opportunities offered by the Great

Society. Although some parents complained of the influence of movies on children, there was no desire to abolish movies. The lack of any peculiar linguistic, ethnic, or religious peculiarities resulted in training and indoctrination into a larger world than the local community. The socialization process in Wheatville and Cornville did not emphasize any necessity for the child to remain a part of the local society. Other than a flavoring of the child's frame of reference with the traditional system of Christian morality, the recipe of the socialization process was highly seasoned with the development of the ability in the child to think independently. Living in a cultural milieu which they recognized as dynamic, these parents recognized that their knowledge was limited and in consequence turned to extra familial agencies for help.

Differentiations among the communities are also found in the importance of the family as an agent in the socialization process relative to other institutions and agencies in the community. In the Amish community, other than the limited formal education it offered, the school imparted few new ideas to the children. It was one of the school's functions to help solidify the frame of reference imparted to the child by the family. The youngsters belonged to no special age and sex groups. Their playmates were determined by religious and family sanctions.

In El Cerrito, too, were found no formal age and sex groups for the special interests of the children. As in

the
nat
liefs
the f
socia
tiona
grou
Ho
ville,
churc
tor o
of th
sent
agen
tion
educ
grea
herit
cent
ities
fami
to th
the
beca
actio
Corn
in v
enco
tere
expr
grea
awa
wor
ther
ters
ties.
fam
the
life
fica
exis
O
the

the Amish community the combination of religious practices and beliefs with the informal instruction of the family was very important in the socialization process. Other institutional agencies or special secondary groupings were of slight importance.

However, in Cornville and Wheatville, the family in alliance with the church was not the supreme inculcator of the beliefs, values and life goals of the individual. The family represented but one of several important agencies influential in the socialization process. In addition to formal education, the school transmitted the greater part of the intellectual social heritage to the child. It served as the center of recreational and social activities for the young people. Ideas unfamiliar to the parents were taught to the children. Many situations that the Amish or El Cerritan child never became aware of were familiar interactional occasions for Wheatville and Cornville children. They participated in various types of clubs; they were encouraged to pursue their special interests; their opportunities for self expression and individuation were greater. They were reared with an awareness that the extra-community world might offer opportunities to them. Many of their brothers and sisters lived in cities and other communities. It was largely through the extra-familial activities they engaged in and the cosmopolitan aspects of family life that such a recognition of identification with the Great Society existed.

One final differentiation between the communities in regard to the

family and the socialization process should be noted. This concerns the determination by the family of the future occupation and type of life the child will lead. In the Amish community it was pointed out that the life pattern of the child was established by the parents and deviations would not be tolerated. His occupation, his religious beliefs, his place of residence, his familial relationships, and the criterion for his marital partner were clearly defined and the pattern was invariably followed. Although the rigidity of the pattern was not so great and the number of alternatives for the young El Cerritan were not as few as in the case of the Amish youngster, nevertheless, if community ostracism was to be avoided, the range of allowed deviations was small. However, in Wheatville and Cornville a large number of parents hoped their children would not farm. They believed that their children must make up their own minds regarding occupational decisions. They maintained that parents should advise on such matters, but the ultimate decision must be that of the child. Further, parents felt that the child must exercise his own discretion in selection of his mate. Although parents would like their children to live nearby, most realized that many of the young people had to migrate. There were also fewer negative dictums and less parental control over the behavior of the children in their recreational activities. In sum, self determination rather than familial determination was more characteristic of the Iowa and Kansas communities.

Attention is now directed to a comparative analysis of the degree of familism in the several communities. Initially, the communities may be differentiated on the basis of the extent of mutual aid between family members. In the Amish community, parents willingly assumed the obligation to help their children establish themselves on farms. A primary goal of the parents was to accumulate enough land so that their sons would be able to farm. When children married, parents presented them with livestock and household equipment. Cash or credit was freely extended to young people. The belief in the rural life as the righteous way of life underlaid the strong efforts of parents to proffer all types of help to their children so that they could follow the separatist way of life of the Amish. In addition to parent-child mutual aid was found the *Grossdowdy* arrangement whereby parents were assured protection in their old age. The family assets were kept intact and the continuity of the family homestead was assured. The earnings of children were also construed to be family property until the child married.

El Cerritan parents lacked the economic resources to help their children get started. However, at an early age the child was expected to aid his parents in the farm enterprise. If a son left the community to seek employment, the greater part of his earning was turned back to the family. Family expectations further included a great deal of cooperation and sharing between family members. The

fruits of the harvest were in most instances divided informally between family members. When relatives were in need, aid was always offered and the meagre wealth of these poverty-stricken folk was shared.

In Cornville and Wheatville there was also found evidences of family cooperation and mutual help. Parents in most instances helped those children who desired to farm by offering them financial aid or special privileges. However, the fact that it was assumed that many children would leave the community resulted in there being no strong urge to establish institutionalized arrangements such as were found among the Amish to keep children in the community. The income earned on the family farm or elsewhere by the children was not family income. In these communities the extent of family cooperation was limited in the main to *klein familia* relatives. There was slight differentiation between aid rendered to neighbors and *extra-klein familia* members in distress. Again, parents did not expect nor did they receive a great deal of aid from their children in their old age. There was found no *Grossdowdy* arrangement; parents attempted to save enough for themselves in their declining years of productivity. Whereas in the Amish community family cooperation was reciprocal between parents and children in Wheatville and Cornville, parent-child mutual aid pattern was a one way process.

Another differentiating factor centers on the attitudes of family mem-

bers toward the family homestead and farm. Among the Amish was found a sentimental attachment toward family property. When parents reached the retirement age, the farm was not sold so that the parents would possess the capital to retire. On the contrary, through the *Grossdawdy* arrangement, the family farm was turned over to one of the family members, and the parents remained on the farm. In El Cerrito, there existed a definite emotional attachment to the family farm. It was noted that the people would endure severe privation before selling their small parcels of land. Parents were expected to bequeath their land to the children, and not to do so would constitute a severe transgression of community mores. However, in Cornville and Wheatville this sentimental attitude toward the family farm and land ownership was much less in evidence. The high degree of tenancy plus the economic beating taken by land owners during the depression and drought years of the thirties resulted in a more economically rational view toward the family homestead and farm property.

Again, the communities may be differentiated on the importance attached to family events and familial activities. In El Cerrito and the Amish community recreation was much more familial in nature than in Wheatville and Cornville. In these latter communities family members participated as individuals in numerous special interest groups. Attendance at movies and listening to radio constituted important forms of individualized recreation.

However, among the Amish the most important source of recreation was interfamily visiting while in El Cerrito, community dances and religious festivals were family affairs. More importance was attached to weddings, funerals, and other family functions in the Amish and El Cerrito communities than in other communities. Weddings and funerals were viewed as highly important community events, and all community members were expected to participate. However, in Wheatville and Cornville large church weddings were infrequent and only close relatives and intimate friends were in attendance. Such events as family reunions and family picnics did occur in the latter communities, but their frequency had been steadily diminishing as commercialized and impersonal forms of recreation were accepted by the people.

Despite these variable conditions in family relationships and family functions, it is of interest to note that in all four communities there existed a high degree of family stability. In the Amish community as well as in El Cerrito divorce was not allowed due to religious sanctions. However, whereas in El Cerrito an erring husband would be forgiven, in the Amish community such a transgression of the mores would result in an annulment and certainly would end in excommunication for the deviant person. However, no such occurrence was reported in the Amish community. It was further reported that divorce was a rare occurrence in Wheatville. The inadequacy of the data in regard to divorce in

Wheatville and Cornville limits further discussion of this aspect of the family systems.

Yet, it was reported that in these latter communities husband-wife as well as parent-child relations were highly stable and marked by a low degree of conflict and contravention. The granting of allowances or incomes to children plus the realization of lack of parental blame during economic crises may partially account for the stability of relationships within the family.

The existence of highly stable familial relationship in spite of differing degrees of familism may suggest interesting hypotheses for the student of family analysis. Thus, there may exist certain minimum requirements for stability in family relationships regardless of other cultural differentials.

In sum, then, it is evident that there existed distinct differentials between the communities when the optic of analysis was focused on the family systems. To argue as Locke¹⁰ has done, that the analysis of these communities indicates that the rural family is highly differentiated from the urban family may be true and is of interest. But his analysis tends to minimize or lose sight of the variance in familism among rural communities. This analysis has attempted to divulge some of the important variations in family life among the four communities studied. It is concluded that in general the family systems of the

Amish and El Cerritan communities were highly differentiated from the family systems of Cornville and Wheatville.

D. The Religious Systems

The communities may be differentiated by the number of religious or denominational systems existing within the geographical locus of the community. In El Cerrito and the Old Order Amish community only one church existed, and the intrusion of another denomination or sect would not be tolerated. Thus, those members of the Old Order Amish community who joined more liberal Ammonite groups were ejected from the socio-religious community of the Old Order Amish. Again, in El Cerrito, there was only one religious system, the Catholic credo, and every member of the village was a member of the single church. To abandon the church would result in social ostracism and expulsion from the community. This unanimity in religious belief in El Cerrito and among the Old Order Amish resulted in the church becoming a powerful cohesive factor in community life. All members of the community belonged to the same church, believed in the same religious symbolism, and in consequence shared a singular frame of reference in their evaluative systems.

In contrast to this unanimity and singularity of religious belief are the heterogeneous situations found in Wheatville and Cornville. In these communities denominationalism resulted in intra-community factions

¹⁰ H. J. Locke, "Contemporary American Farm Families," *Rural Sociology*, (1945), 142-150.

and a constellation of in and out group relationships. The members of the Church of God in Wheatville, for example, were viewed as an undesirable element in the community by many of the residents and the Nazarene church condemned the "unrighteous" activities of members of the Methodist and Christian churches. These variegated formulations and practices of Christianity within the spatial limits of a single community resulted in competitive and contravention activities between the church groups. Rather than functioning as an integrative influence as in the case of El Cerrito and the Old Order Amish, the existence of competing religious influences served to weaken community solidarity and increased community conflicts and antagonisms.

Another significant distinguishing characteristic of the religious systems in the communities is the varying influence of church sanctions on the ways of life of the people. The comparative analysis of the communities indicated that religious influences may be all pervading or affect only certain segments of the ways of behavior of a people. In the Amish community religious influences exerted tremendous influences on the ways of life of the inhabitants. Interpretation of biblical passages accounted for the peculiar dress of the people, their mode of transportation, their recreational behavior, and their educational beliefs. Most decisions as to the way the individual must behave were based upon rigid adherence to the Scriptures. There were few areas of

alternative behavior. Among the Old Order Amish, then, one is always forced back to religious beliefs to understand the ways of life of the people. The core of the local culture was firmly aligned to the religious system.

In sharp contrast to the Amish was the slight influence of the church in Wheatville and Cornville. In these communities religious influences were restricted to a much narrower area of life. It was not church rulings that determined the mode of dress or the educational curriculum. The accepted types of recreation were not decided by the church. Other agencies and influences like the school, fashion, specialized groups, and impersonal mechanisms such as the radio and the newspaper were also important devices in setting the patterns of human behavior. The church, then, was only one of many influences that determined the ways of behavior. Yet it should be noted that religious influences did not equally affect all groups. Thus, in general it may be said that the members of minority churches such as the Church of God and the Nazarene church were more restricted in their activities than the Methodists and Congregationalists. These latter denominations did not attempt to constrain their members' behavior in the same degree as the former churches. The existence of denominationalism with its consequents sharply differentiated Wheatville and Cornville from El Cerrito and the Old Order Amish communities. Although the religious system in El Cerrito did not

permeate as many facts of life as in the Old Order Amish grouping, yet the single church was a powerful constraining force in the community.

Another important differentiating characteristic is the degree to which church sanctions could be challenged in the four communities. In the Amish and Spanish-American communities to challenge existing church rules was equivalent to heresy. To question religious sanctions was to invite expulsion from these communities. In Wheatville and Cornville, however, the variety of churches in itself created division of opinion regarding religious beliefs. Many of the inhabitants openly admitted that they did not attend church, and others questioned the preaching of the ministers. This disenchantment of biblical teachings was explained in part by the realization that prayer alone was not enough to bring rain in periods of drought and that material forces played an important part in the welfare of farm people. Again the critical viewpoint taken in regard to the functionaries of the church resulted in a critical appraisal of their teachings.

A final matter of interest is the differential importance of the church as an agency of social control. In the Old Order Amish community the church may be described as the most powerful mechanism for restraining the behavior of community members. Since the very basis of solidarity among the Amish was their unique religious beliefs and an insistence on the maintenance of their separationism, infractions of the customs and mores were

severely dealt with by the group. But it was not a civil authority or informal social controls that dealt with infractions. It was in the religious meetings of the Amish through the lay ministry that punishment was meted out to offenders of the clearly established rules of separation and unequal yoke. Through the technique of shunning, the church invoked its prerogatives of active social control and through excommunication it held the power of severance of the individual from the community of brethren. To be read out of the Old Order Amish grouping was social suicide, and the fear of such an eventuality was a powerful constraining factor for those who might contemplate deviation from the rigidly determined prescriptions of the Amish.

III. Conclusions

It is now pertinent to ascertain the significance of these variations in sociological variables noted in the comparative analysis of the four communities. The analysis seems to support the contention that viewing rural life merely as a polar type in contradistinction to urban life neglects the important factor of significant intrarural variations. It suggests that rural communities when appraised through the sociological optic may be marked by varying degrees of intercommunication with and differential degrees of integration with the Great Society, by differential systems of interaction, and by variations in certain institutional systems. Thus the analysis suggests that a rural community may constitute, in actuality, a cultural

island within the larger society or may be an integral part of it. The wide diversity within rural communities found in the present analysis of a relatively small number of communities suggests that rather than setting up frames of reference in an either-or context (that is, rural or urban), it may be more advisable in many types of investigation to establish theoretical frameworks in which the focus is centered on analysis of specific variables. Thus, Wheatville and Cornville may be more similar to many small urban communities than they are to El Cerrito and the Amish community. And these latter communities may perhaps be more similar to peasant or even primitive societies. Viewing societies, then, on continuums of sociological variables (for example, cultural isolation) not only may present a clearer and more trenchant analysis of phases of social relationships and human interaction, but on a theoretical level it allows for the embracing of many types of communities, rather than the restrictive rural-urban-dichotomy approach.

Recognition of the heuristic value of breaking away from the rural-urban dichotomy further implies that the arbitrary fracturing of society or societies into the neat artificial segments of rural and urban is a practice that requires careful scrutiny. To maintain as Sorokin has done, that if the investigator is dealing with an agricultural community he is also dealing with a series of sociological constants, is an exceedingly questionable assumption in rural sociological

research. This matter is of especial significance in the present era of rapid social and cultural change and increasing urban dominance in contemporary American culture. The analysis further suggests that a frame of reference that will offer a specific concept such as cultural isolation as the focus for analysis may offer keener insights and reveal more significant knowledge for the development of systematic theory than the use of the rural-urban dichotomy as the basis of the theoretical frame of reference.¹¹ In short, the concept *rural* in contradistinction to *urban* is not the homogeneous sociological concept as assumed by many sociologists. People who earn their living in agricultural settings do not necessarily lead a special way of life. This analysis has attempted to show that in the agricultural milieu, there may exist variant *ways* of life. Recognition of these variant ways of life and an explanation of the conditions resulting in their existence offer fertile fields for sociological explorations.

Discussion

By T. WILSON LONGMORE*

Although Professor Gross would probably be the last person to admit it, his paper serves to confirm what rural sociologists have long maintained, namely, that rural life offers a rich field for sociological analysis. Rather the author would have us believe that the concept of a "rural world" has no

¹¹ See my paper "The Relationship Between Cultural Variables" to be published in the *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1948.

* Division of Farm Population, United States Department of Agriculture.

usefulness in sociological research. To point out the inadequacies of a concept is one thing but to suggest that the entire concept be discarded is quite another.

As a rural sociologist, I hold no brief for any construct unless it helps us understand rural society; this is fundamental in applying the methods of science to rural problems. But we cannot realistically "deconceptualize" the extremely crucial factors of population density, differences in occupation and physical environment. For those imbued with Professor Gross' ideas, a rereading of Smith's introduction to his *Sociology of Rural Life* or for that matter a reading of some book of fiction such as Cather's *My Antonia* should be effective antidote.

The fact that rural sociologists have concentrated their efforts in a limited area has advanced the science of sociology generally. It is a fact that the most productive efforts of such men as Galpin, Taylor, Loomis, Zimmerman, Kolb, Sanderson, deS. Brunner and others have been applied to rural society. Such rural sociologists have served to supplement the work of the general sociologists who deal largely in broad generalizations with only limited meaning. The importance of their contribution can be appraised if we consider for comparative purposes the state of South American sociology where the applied field just never had a chance.

Since Professor Gross brings into consideration the entire role of "general" versus "rural" sociology it might not be a bad idea to clarify what seems to be the most reasonable relation between the two fields. There should be no conflict for both aspire to arrive at generalization through the application of scientific method. Since all generalizations can be only approximations of reality, the rural sociologist constantly strives to refine and clarify the more general social facts in their relation to specific rural situations. This basis of operation of course assumes the relative and tentative nature of all sociological generalizations.

Most of the article deals with the description of how four concepts—cultural isolation, intra-community interaction, the family, religious systems—can be used to analyze

community variation. Each factor is thought of as a continuum along which rural communities can be arrayed. Just how such continuums are developed is not elaborated upon. How, for instance, are we to establish limits to such a "yardstick?" Careful reading of the comparative analysis of the four selected communities yields a few clues. But Professor Gross fails to tell the reader that the four communities he includes in his analysis were themselves carefully selected so as to represent a wide range on what was essentially a "stability-instability" continuum. Hence they represent wide extremes of rural community life and should as a consequence yield to even the grossest of sociological analysis. It is, therefore, the definitiveness with which Professor Gross' technique is able to distinguish between the quality of community life exemplified by each of the selected communities which should concern us here. It is pertinent to ask at this point why he did not use all six of the communities studied instead of only four. Was it because his technique was incapable of distinguishing between each and every one?

Professor Gross has set himself a very worthwhile problem—the development of a technique whereby communities can be placed on a continuum which will be meaningful. I need only suggest that county agents, farm supervisors, teachers, ministers and rural leaders are a ready consumers' market for just such material.

I suggest the following criteria by which the technique can be appraised: 1) Does it allow measurement in definite units of characteristics ascribed to communities? 2) Does it provide the basis for placing any community on a continuum so that that community is seen in relation to all other communities? In statistical jargon: Does it provide us with comparable units of measurement? and Does the technique meet the test of internal consistency?

Taking the concept of cultural isolation, we see that he uses at least four factors considered to be influential in determination of such a characteristic. They are: 1) the relative influence of diffusion agencies, 2) the range of mobility of the individual, 3)

attrib
the ex
of "c
though
parat
ceptib
fusion
he can
ville
Cerrit
his to
prong
and in
is for
relyin
thing
critici
articl
How
intra-
come
contac
"pers
mine.
of the
types.
to ref
Herbe
Conce
Articl
field
by th
to em
damer
and C
empir
Gross
though
data t
and so
Such
at this
time i
Popul
able m
logical
Ameri
guidan
trained
for ov
analys

attributes of the community inhabitants, 4) the existence or lack of existence of a feeling of "consensus" with the Great Society. Although he concludes on the basis of a comparative analysis that "there exists a perceptible difference in the importance of diffusion agencies in the several communities" he can go no farther than to say that Wheatville and Cornville are *different* than El Cerrito and Old Order Amish. In other words his technique falls down under the two-pronged criteria of units of measurement and internal consistency and Professor Gross is forced unconsciously into the position of relying on a dichotomous analysis, the very thing he so decries. In my estimation this criticism applies throughout the entire article.

However, when we get to the concept of intra-community social interaction we become aware of words like "*secondary group contacts*," "*derived group relationships*," "*personalized forms of interaction*." (Italics mine.) Such terms suggest that one way out of the apparent dilemma is to employ ideal types. In this connection it would be well to refer back to an article written by Rudolf Herberle in 1941 entitled "Fundamental Concepts in Rural Community Studies." Articles by deS. Brunner and Redfield in *Rural Sociology* were inspired by this one of Heberle and all seemed to emphasize the need for applying fundamental concepts such as *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* to the interpretation of empirical data. This article of Professor Gross should serve to rekindle interest and thought on the problem of relating concrete data to a general theory of social structure and social change.

Such an assignment is particularly fitting at this moment because within a very short time it is hoped that the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life will make available material gathered in an intensive sociological study of a cross-section sample of American rural communities. Under the guidance of Carl C. Taylor, a staff of well-trained social analysts have been engaged for over five years in the collection and analysis of data concerning rural life. It is

not until such systematic data is collected in sufficient amount that techniques such as suggested by Professor Gross can be adequately tested and developed. All the evidence indicates rather conclusively that the author of this article misinterprets rural sociologists if he thinks they are not cognizant of variations within rural society. In fact . . . many have dedicated their very lives to pointing them out.

Rejoinder

By NEAL GROSS

Mr. Longmore has in some manner gathered the impression that "... the author would have us believe that the concept of a 'rural world' has *no* usefulness in sociological research." I apologize for quoting from my own paper, but "to lump rural life into one category in contradistinction to urban life *may be* methodologically sound for certain types of sociological investigations. This practice, however, bears careful scrutiny."

I find myself in complete agreement with Mr. Longmore (although Mr. Longmore would probably be the last person to admit it) "that rural life offers a rich field for sociological analysis." However I am concerned with how significant our findings will be in both a theoretical and pragmatic sense if we *restrict* ourselves to theoretical frameworks and conceptual schemes such as the "rural and urban world" dichotomy when we use the same sociological concept, "rural," for theoretical purposes in classifying group life in the black and white belt of the agricultural Southeast, in Goldschmidt's *As They Sow* community, in the Yucatan societies Chan Kom and Tusik, in the confused ecological and consensual patterns in the hinterland of large cities where industrial workers, part time, and full time farmers live on contiguous plots of land, in the ranch areas of Montana and in the rurbanized way of life found in many parts of Iowa. In short, I am raising the important sociological query, is the "rural" way of life in Hamilton County, Iowa necessarily more similar on sociological axes of analyses to the "rural" way of

life of Acadian communities in Louisiana or to the "urban" way of life in Des Moines? In short, is the rural and urban dichotomy the only or the most revealing theoretical framework for sociological research in agricultural areas?

In contrast to Mr. Longmore, it is my view that we must consider the realistic *reconceptualization* of the factors of population density, occupation and physical environment when population densities in agricultural areas vary; when population densities lose or gain in sociological significance depending on communication and contact with the extra-community world; when the occupation of agriculture seems to tolerate different ecological patterns and institutional interrelationships, different ways of life, different ideologies, and different interactional systems; when physical environment is meaningful only in terms of a social and cultural environment that may or may not tolerate movies, dance halls, beer joints, black marketing activities, rigid or loose social stratification and variant interpretations of that very physical environment.

But even assuming that "rural" life in Hamilton County, Iowa is more similar to "rural" life in southern China than it is to "city" life in Des Moines, I see no reason why the important sociological question should not be raised, What are the sociological differences between group life in Iowa "rural" areas and other "rural" areas?; and of more importance, how as sociologists can we explain these differences? My paper raises the first query and another paper (see the March issue of *American Journal of Sociology*) is an attempt to provide a very incomplete answer to the second one.

The possible necessity for the consideration of different frameworks for the study of social structure and process in agricultural areas can be seen by noting Mr. Longmore's use of the concept, *rural society*. But as a sociologist (not as a layman) I ask what is "rural society?" Is it the interactions and group life of all people making their living from agriculture? But what interactions do the people in agriculture in Alabama and Georgia have with the people in agriculture

in Iowa? The answer is probably very little or none at all; yet sociologists of "rural" life use such terms that confuse rather than clarify sociological analyses. What we really have, in my opinion, is many "rural societies" (considering society as the study of group life from the viewpoint of consensus and considering community as a representation of symbiotic relationships) within the United States. This matter assumes extreme importance as sociologists learn more about the variant cultures and social systems that people in agriculture live in and through in different parts of the world and even within the same national boundaries.

I do not think it fruitful to carry on a dialectic over the value of the contributions of the distinguished rural sociologists Mr. Longmore mentions in his discussion. Of course, they and many others have made significant contributions. But the point is: could they have made more significant contributions, and how can others make significant contributions? With Dewey, I suggest that "Failure to examine the conceptual structures and frames of reference which are unconsciously implicated in even the seemingly most innocent factual inquiries is the greatest single defect to be found in any field of inquiry."

As regards the continua used for the framework of my analysis, I concur that they are rough, and crude devices. But the first steps in methodological advance are often rocky and I will be delighted if Mr. Longmore and others will help in trying to make them more precise tools. However, with Redfield I maintain that even such crude tools may yield new knowledge and new perspectives despite their serious (but not irremedial) short comings. (See my paper in March issue of *American Journal of Sociology*, for a discussion of these matters and a testing of specific hypotheses by use of this rough methodological schema.)

Space limitations preclude my going into the criteria used for selection of the four communities. But for those interested in this matter (including Mr. Longmore) I suggest the reading of the reference in footnote 6 of my paper, to wit: "For criteria used in

selectio
op. cit.

In
that r
variati
the lat
very n
precise
things
Every
fore b
I doub
discov

Th
has c
ity in
one d
ducti
obscu
accep
time
signi
agric
ing li

* T
were
Surve
is inc
Agric
collect
† R

selection of the communities see Gross, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-60."

In regard to our discussant's observation that rural sociologists are aware of all the variations I describe, I should like to quote the late Professor Whitehead, "... to come very near to a true theory, and to grasp its precise application, are two very different things, as the history of science teaches us. Everything of importance has been said before by somebody who did not discover it." I doubt greatly if I have made any great discovery, but I am suggesting that rural

sociologists might recognize (or discover) these sociological variations in their theoretical frameworks and build researches in a clear sociological schema around them. In short, are we going to recognize sociological variations in "rural" life in our researches; what sort of new theoretical framework or frameworks and concepts for this research recognition are needed?; and what kind of significant hypotheses can we test? These are the questions. I hope the answers can and will be found, and I cordially invite Mr. Longmore's help in this venture.

A Study in Technological Diffusion*

By Bryce Ryan†

ABSTRACT

Hybrid seed corn is a technological development uniquely adopted to analysis in terms of time sequences in cultural change. Hybrid's spread through Iowa was rapid and complete. Regional variations, within the state, in rapidity of adoption were not pronounced. Throughout the state individual farmers accepted the new seed in small quantities, increasing their utilization after periods of personal trial use. The over-all diffusion curve suggests a relatively long period of minor growth, followed by a sweeping acceptance of the new trait.

The diffusion of hybrid seed corn has occurred with phenomenal rapidity in the midwest. Practically within one decade, this hardier and more productive breed of seed arose from the obscurity of the laboratory to general acceptance by cornbelt farmers. The time pattern of this diffusion has significance from the standpoint of agricultural history and to the growing literature on the process and prob-

lems of technological diffusion.¹ The sensational economic importance of hybrid seed corn has made simply the documentation of its diffusion significant. The recency and rapidity of the development render it particularly apt for analysis in terms of sequential

*The data on which this study is based were collected by the Iowa Wartime Farm Survey at Iowa State College. The writer is indebted to that survey and the Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station for the collection of data used in this study.

†Rutgers University.

¹ See F. S. Chapin, *Cultural Change*; Earl Pemberton, "The Curve of Culture Diffusion Rate," *American Sociological Review*, (August, 1936); "The Effect of a Social Crisis on the Curve of Diffusion," *ibid.*, (February, 1937); Alice Davis, "Technicways in American Civilization," *Social Forces*, (March, 1940); Bryce Ryan and Neal C. Gross, "The Diffusion of Hybrid Seed Corn in Two Iowa Communities," *Rural Sociology*, (March, 1943); and numerous contributions by Professor Hornell Hart.

patterns in cultural change. Valid theoretic principles regarding rates of diffusion and sequences in the diffusion process can come only as empirical foundations are laid in many phases of cultural change. In the present study only this temporal aspect of the diffusion pattern has been analyzed; i.e., the rapidity with which this hybrid seed was accepted into the technology of Iowa agriculture.²

This problem involves two principal aspects: (1) the spread of hybrid seed utilization in the state as a whole, and (2) the comparative receptiveness of different areas in the state. In a number of respects this study parallels an earlier one conducted in collaboration with Neal C. Gross (*Rural Sociology*, March, 1943, pp. 16-24). The earlier and more intensive study sought, among other objectives, to delineate the curve of diffusion for hybrid seed in two Iowa communities. The temporal pattern found there on a community level is essentially reproduced in the present study where the scope of inquiry is greatly expanded. Certain observations and conclusions then applicable only on a community level now seem characteristic of this diffusion over a wide area.

Since the midwest is the most intensive corn producing area in the nation, it is understandable that hybrid has been developed and has

spread most rapidly in this region.³ Although hybrid seed was practically unavailable to farmers before 1930, about one-half of the corn acreage in this region was planted to hybrid in 1940 as contrasted to a national planting of less than one-third of all corn acreage. By 1942 the midwest had nearly three-fourths of all corn acreage in hybrid seed while for the nation the proportion was somewhat less than one-half. Within the corn-belt, Iowa was outstandingly fast in adopting the new seed. Whereas in 1939 less than 40 percent of the region's corn acreage was hybrid, nearly 75 percent of Iowa's corn land had been placed in the new seed. More than 98 percent of Iowa's corn land was planted to hybrid in 1942.

In contrast to the very rapid diffusion of hybrid through the midwest, the development of the seed itself had been a long painstaking process. Experimentors in many walks of life and in widely separated localities had contributed toward the development of hybrid strains, which in later years were to become of such great commercial significance.⁴ Sporadic experimentation ended in the early twenties when Experiment Stations in several states, along with the Bureau of Plant Industry, took up the quest systematically. Commercial organizations like-

² The sample used is that of the Iowa Wartime Farm Survey (Iowa State College) which, while small, has rather high reliability. Farmers who began operating after 1932 have been excluded from this analysis. Thus 438 operators were interviewed, all of whom farmed throughout the diffusion period.

³ Estimates used here are from the USDA, BAE, mimeographed release "Hybrids Dominate Corn Acreage," July 10, 1943. See also *Technology on the Farm*, Ch. 5 USDA, 1940.

⁴ See *Technology on the Farm*, op. cit., p. 21. For amounts of seed produced in different years for Iowa, see Joe Robinson, "The Story of Hybrid Seed Corn," Iowa A.E.S. Bulletin.

wise came into the field during this period. The first commercial production of hybrid seed was probably in Connecticut in 1922, but it was not until about 1927 or 1928 that hybrid seed was produced on a regular commercial basis. Even by 1932 the quantities of seed produced in Iowa were exceedingly limited and capable of planting only a very small fraction of the state corn acreage. (See Fig. 1)

While seed scarcity was probably not felt consciously by many farmers, this fact imposes certain limiting conditions on the interpretation of diffusion data. Many of the limitations restraining farmers from early adoption were self-imposed, but some, like "seed scarcity," would fall outside the individual farmer's control. Clearly it would have been physically impossible for a large percentage of operators to have planted hybrid in the early thirties. There simply was not enough seed. It seems likely, however, that this operated more as a potential than an actual limitation upon the will of the operator, and that the rapidity of adoption approximated the rate at which farmers decided favorably upon the new technique.⁵ Figure 1 shows

the close correspondence between acreage estimates and seed production estimates for the early years; following 1936 there was no evidence of pressure upon available supplies of seed. However, demand for hybrid was not generated equally early in all parts of the state since suitable seed was practically unavailable in some areas at periods when it was widely available in others.

Thus, seeds adapted to the needs of east central Iowa were developed before those suitable for peripheral areas, especially the southern. Whereas adequate hybrids had been developed for eastern and central Iowa by about 1930 or before, it was probably 1933 or 1934 before a hybrid was available which was clearly superior to open-pollinated breeds in the southern region. In considerable part, at least, this situation arose out of drought conditions in the southern and western parts of the state which retarded production of the seed itself. The apparent lag of some areas was probably largely imposed by conditions beyond the control of the farmers in those areas.

It is quite clear that the startling success of hybrid seed came in the space of a very few years. But in ascertaining the time pattern by which hybrid was adopted, it is not enough to deal simply with the fact of "acceptance." Hybrid seed may first be accepted for trial on just a few acres, or it may be adopted on a 100 percent basis. As a matter of fact, very few operators placed all of their acreage in hybrid the first year they used it. The

⁵This, of course, admits some debate. However, in two communities given more intensive analysis not one operator had attempted unsuccessfully to obtain seed. More important, as an evidence, were the expensive sales campaigns waged by commercial producers year after year. It is doubtful if seed producers were in any area of the state overwhelmed by orders which they could not fill, in spite of a literal or potential "seed scarcity." This, at least, is the judgment offered by Mr. Nelson Urban, sales manager of the Pioneer Hybrid Co., to whom the writer is indebted for a number of helpful observations.

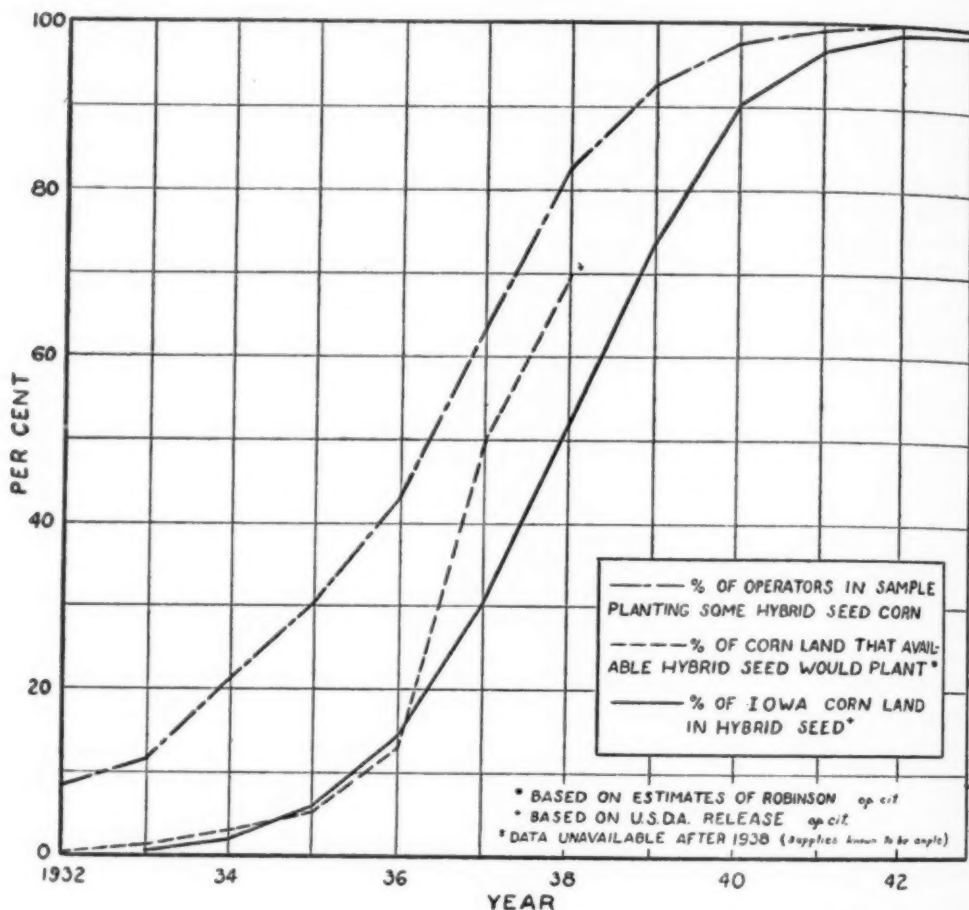


Figure 1. Production and use of Hybrid Seed Corn in Iowa by Year 1932-1943.

spread of hybrid involved diffusion in the sense of numerical increases in the numbers of operators planting it for the first time, and also in the sense of increasing use by those who had previously adopted it for fractions of the acreage.

Partial Adoption (State)

In 1929 only 1.6 percent of all operators in the state-wide sample

were using some hybrid seed. Ten years later, 92.6 percent were planting the new seed, and three years after that (1942) not one farmer had failed to accept hybrid for at least some fraction of his acreage. The swing of farmers toward hybrid is shown in Table I. It is evident that this diffusion cycle began very slowly and did not from the start show rapid growth. Until 1934, the number turn-

TABLE I. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGES OF IOWA FARMERS FIRST TRYING HYBRID SEED CORN IN VARIOUS YEARS.

| Year | Number | Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------------|--------|---------|--------------------|
| Before 1930 | 7 | 1.6 | 1.6 |
| 1930 | 9 | 2.1 | 3.7 |
| 1931 | 4 | .9 | 4.6 |
| 1932 | 17 | 3.9 | 8.5 |
| 1933 | 14 | 3.2 | 11.7 |
| 1934 | 41 | 9.5 | 21.2 |
| 1935 | 40 | 9.2 | 30.4 |
| 1936 | 54 | 12.5 | 42.9 |
| 1937 | 89 | 20.6 | 63.5 |
| 1938 | 83 | 19.2 | 82.7 |
| 1939 | 43 | 9.9 | 92.6 |
| 1940 | 22 | 5.1 | 97.7 |
| 1941 | 7 | 1.6 | 99.3 |
| 1942 | 3 | .7 | 100.0 |
| Total | 433* | 100.0 | — |

* In this and subsequent tables respondents for whom the pertinent data were incomplete have been excluded from analysis and presentation.

ing to the new seed in each year was quite small; successive years had failed to show progressive increases in the number of adopters. While the number of users were increasing in total, in no single year prior to 1934 did as many as 5 percent of all farmers make the transition. Thus, not until practically a third of the total diffusion period had passed did hybrid really take hold. In 1934 and 1935 the diffusion gained some momentum and by 1938 more than 80 percent had accepted it for part of their acreage. Since the vast majority of farmers were by that time using the seed, the number of acceptors in succeeding years dropped off sharply and in 1942 the last of them gave in to the new breed.⁶

⁶ How different this curve would have been had seed been readily available to all operators from the beginning of the diffusion cycle is of course a matter for specu-

Partial Adoption (Areas of the State)

Within Iowa there are five fairly distinct type-of-farming areas, differing in soil resources, organization of farm enterprise, etc.⁷ (See Figure 2.)

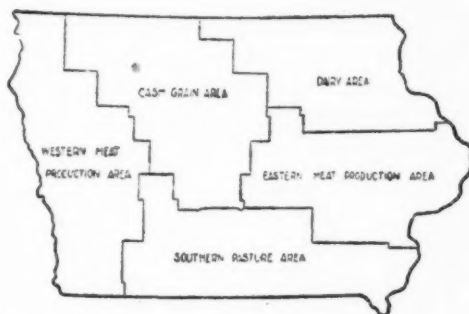


Figure 2. Types of Farming Areas in Iowa*

There are several reasons for expecting some differences between areas in the rapidity of diffusion. As has been pointed out, high quality seed was not available at identical periods in southern or in western Iowa, and in much of the remainder of the state. In addition, the period of diffusion practically coincided with that of agricultural depression and recurrent drought. While drought conditions provided a means of demonstrating the greater hardihood of hybrid breeds, the period was one in which farmers were loathe to make greater cash outlays than necessity demanded. Economic and

tion. The curve is very similar, however, to that found in two communities which are known to have suffered no lack of seed (relative to demand). Ryan and Gross, *op. cit.* See also Figure 1 above.

⁷ See C. L. Holmes, "Types of Farming in Iowa," Iowa AESB 256, 1929; and Crickman and Holmes, "Types of Farming in Iowa," II, Iowa AESB 374, 1938.

* From C. L. Holmes, *op. cit.*

drought conditions were especially serious in the southern and western areas, the latter condition adversely effecting the production of seed corn itself. In addition it should be noted that the southern section of the state undoubtedly has remained more isolated and less "progressive" in many characteristics. (This is related to a long history of marginal and depressed agriculture.) While it was this area which lagged most in adopting hybrid, the "progressive" Western Livestock (Meat Production) Area was only slightly more rapid. Interestingly enough the relative importance of corn in the economy of an area appears to have had little influence upon earliness of adoption within this state where corn is in most localities an important crop. Corn production plays the smallest role in farm economy of the dairy section of northeast Iowa; yet farmers in this area were not much behind those of the Cash Grain

and Eastern Livestock Areas where corn is more important than in any other areas.

While it is not unlikely that the significance of corn in eastern and central Iowa stimulated the spread of hybrid there, this is quite possibly true because it directed the activities of seed producers toward the needs of those areas particularly. In the western section the significance of corn was counterbalanced by drought and serious economic distress. Although the southern area of Iowa has long been "backward" when judged by conventional standards, there is no direct evidence that its lag in respect to hybrid can be explained by greater cultural inertia. While it is doubtful if demand for the new seed came as early in this area as elsewhere, this was surely in part at least the product of the seed's actual unavailability. If the data on first adoptions for the different areas are modified in such a

TABLE II. CUMULATED PERCENTAGES OF OPERATORS FIRST TRYING HYBRID SEED CORN IN VARIOUS YEARS—BY AREA*

| Year Tried | Dairy | Cash Grain | Western Livestock | Southern Pasture | Eastern Livestock | State |
|-------------|-------|------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------|
| Before 1930 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 2 |
| 1930 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 4 |
| 1931 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 5 | 5 |
| 1932 | 10 | 12 | 7 | 3 | 13 | 8 |
| 1933 | 12 | 16 | 12 | 5 | 15 | 12 |
| 1934 | 22 | 25 | 22 | 8 | 35 | 21 |
| 1935 | 35 | 46 | 28 | 8 | 38 | 30 |
| 1936 | 50 | 54 | 38 | 23 | 60 | 43 |
| 1937 | 68 | 72 | 66 | 46 | 77 | 63 |
| 1938 | 91 | 89 | 85 | 68 | 87 | 83 |
| 1939 | 94 | 98 | 91 | 88 | 97 | 93 |
| 1940 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 94 | 100 | 98 |
| 1941 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 98 | | 99 |
| 1942 | | | | 100 | | 100 |
| Total cases | 89 | 96 | 94 | 93 | 61 | 433 |

* In this and other tables where relatively few cases are involved, figures have been rounded to the nearest whole percent.

TABLE III. EXTENT OF HYBRID PLANTING IN FIRST YEAR OPERATOR ACCEPTED HYBRID SEED (PERCENT OF OPERATORS PLANTING SPECIFIED PERCENTAGE OF CORN IN HYBRID) STATE

| Year Accepted | Percent planting specified percentage of corn in hybrid | | | | | | | | | | Total Operators | | Median percent planted |
|-----------------|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-----------------|-----|------------------------|
| | 0-9 | 10-19 | 20-29 | 30-39 | 40-49 | 50-59 | 60-69 | 70-79 | 80-89 | 90-100 | No. | % | |
| 1931 and Before | 25 | 40 | 5 | 10 | 5 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 20 | 100 | 15 |
| 1932 | 23 | 29 | 12 | 18 | 0 | 6 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 17 | 100 | 19 |
| 1933 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 | 14 | 100 | 23 |
| 1934 | 22 | 30 | 25 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 41 | 100 | 20 |
| 1935 | 13 | 18 | 45 | 5 | 11 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 38 | 100 | 24 |
| 1936 | 2 | 27 | 21 | 8 | 2 | 12 | 10 | 2 | 2 | 14 | 51 | 100 | 29 |
| 1937 | 4 | 26 | 26 | 12 | 13 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 9 | 77 | 100 | 28 |
| 1938 | 8 | 20 | 26 | 9 | 9 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 15 | 78 | 100 | 28 |
| 1939 | 7 | 2 | 16 | 7 | 12 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 28 | 41 | 100 | 58 |
| 1940 | 0 | 6 | 6 | 11 | 11 | 22 | 0 | 6 | 6 | 32 | 18 | 100 | 57 |
| 1941-42 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 12 | 0 | 12 | 64 | 8 | 100 | 90 |
| TOTAL | 10 | 22 | 23 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 14 | 403 | 100 | 28 |

way as to compare the diffusion rapidly from the time at which approximately 10 percent of the operators in each region were using the seed, rather than an absolute time scale, then the southern area would indicate no lagging whatsoever. The southern and the western areas probably had a somewhat delayed beginning and, as has been suggested, the most reasonable explanation lies in the retarded development of seed for these areas plus most unfavorable economic conditions. Accepting 1930 in the Eastern Livestock Area as being comparable to 1931 in the Western Livestock Area and to 1933 in the Southern Pasture Area, the spread of hybrid came *more rapidly* in each of the "retarded" regions than in the area actually foremost in the diffusion. This of course reflects a condition in which the area latest in starting enjoyed the most rapid transition to the new technique once it got under way.⁸ Nearly two-

thirds of the southern operators tried hybrid for the first time in the three-year period 1937-1939.

Increasing Use (State)

The preceding discussion gives no insight into the *extent* to which adopting operators turned their corn acreage into hybrid. For very few was the new seed accepted on a total basis, although such conversions became more common in the later years. Regardless of when hybrid was first accepted, nearly a third of the farmers planted less than a fifth of their corn acreage to hybrid in the first season they used it. The median percent of acreage planted to hybrid in the first year of use was 28 percent. (See Table III.)

It is evident from Table III that in the later years of acceptance first plantings were somewhat larger than

the "conservatism" and "experimentalism" of a farmer, nor that a diffusion curve fails to reflect such factors; rather the differences are of doubtful significance between areas. This would undoubtedly not be the case in states less homogeneous culturally than Iowa.

⁸ This does not imply that differences in cultural background had no influence upon

had been true for the less conservative early acceptors. The median percentage of acres planted to hybrid by the earliest adopters was 15 percent, while nearly 60 percent was planted to hybrid in the first year of acceptance by those starting in 1939 and 1940. It was not until 1939 that the median operator turning to hybrid put more than a half of his acreage in the crop. And even a number of those last few adopting hybrid in 1941 and 1942 would not place all of their acreage in hybrid immediately. It cannot be said that there was a steady increase in the size of first plantings as later farmers came to the seed. Planting size in the initial year of acceptance changed very little until after 1938; until that time the median initial plantings of the seed had remained under 30 percent of corn acreage in each year. This was true in spite of the generally successful record of hybrid since at least 1930 to 1932, and its more extensive use by farmers, at any given date, who had started earlier in its planting. More surprising than the increased first plantings in the later years is the fact that the later acceptors were as hesitant as they were in their acceptance even after hybrid was widely and satisfactorily used.

From the small beginnings in the new seed which characterized the bulk of all operators, there was probably for each operator a gradual season-to-season increase in the percentage of crop planted in hybrid seed.⁹ In any

⁹ This season-to-season increase for the individual farmers cannot be directly substantiated. It is, however, consistent with

event, each year brought increasing numbers of partial acceptors into the full use of hybrid. Table IV indicates that even as late as 1937, only 9 percent of the farmers using hybrid for the first time were willing to plant it on their total acreage. There was however, a relatively steady increase in the numbers of farmers coming to the complete use of hybrid. For the great majority of the farmers there was obviously a general time lag of several years between partial adoption and full adoption. It was seven years before the farmers most receptive to hybrid (those partially accepting before 1930) all came to use the seed for their total acreages. And with the exception of farmers partially accepting in 1939, each group of operators beginning to plant hybrid after 1931 still had a few not planting hybrid completely even in 1942.

As would be expected, the operators accepting late tended to come more rapidly to 100 percent planting. Thus, all but two of 22 operators (91 percent) beginning hybrid in 1940 were planting all of their acreage to it in 1942. However, the actual date at which complete acceptance was reached tended to be earlier for those who started the acceptance process early. In almost any given year a larger proportion of the early acceptors were planting all of their acreage to the new seed. In 1940, for example, com-

the following data on achievement of complete hybrid planting and is also borne out in the more intensive study of two communities. There is a possibility that some operators having tried hybrid might have ceased using it for a time. It is very doubtful, however, if more than a handful followed such a course.

plete use of hybrid had long since been true of all farmers starting prior to 1932, but not of those starting later. In most cases it took later beginners at least two or three years of experience with the seed to "catch up" with those who had started earlier.

It would be difficult to find a more graphic illustration of the interrelated influences of vicarious and direct experience than that provided in these data. The shortening of the acceptance process for later adopters surely testified to some breaking down of the cautions exemplified by earlier adopters. The unequivocal success of hybrid in practically every Iowa community had its effect in shortening the "customary" period of self-conviction by personal use as time went on. But the successful and wide use

of the seed by the majority of the population was not sufficient to cut out the demand for conviction by personal experience; i.e., personal trials before whole-hearted acceptance. In 1940, when hybrid seed was obviously and clearly superior to open-pollinated in the eyes of any observer possessing even a small degree of rationality, a sizable portion of the operators who had not yet tried the seed, planted it then on a trial basis. In a striking way, this seems to show a demand for "conviction" based on self-experience as well as the skepticism of knowledge derived from the experiences of others. The diffusion of hybrid seed did not come as a conversion, even though in comparison with many other techniques it spread quite rapidly. It was accepted with caution by

TABLE IV. PERCENTAGES OF FARMERS PLANTING 100% OF THEIR CORN ACREAGE IN HYBRID IN SPECIFIED YEARS, BY YEAR STARTED USING HYBRID* STATE

| Year | Year Started | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Percent of All Operators planting 100% Hybrid |
|--------------|--------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|---|
| | Before 1930 | 1930 | 1931 | 1932 | 1933 | 1934 | 1935 | 1936 | 1937 | 1938 | 1939 | 1940 | 1941 | 1942 | |
| Before | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1930 | 29 | — | | | | | | | | | | | | | .5 |
| 1931 | 57 | 0 | — | | | | | | | | | | | | 1.0 |
| 1932 | 57 | 11 | 0 | — | | | | | | | | | | | 1.2 |
| 1933 | 57 | 22 | 25 | 6 | — | | | | | | | | | | 1.9 |
| 1934 | 71 | 33 | 25 | 6 | 7 | — | | | | | | | | | 2.6 |
| 1935 | 71 | 44 | 25 | 23 | 7 | 2 | — | | | | | | | | 3.7 |
| 1936 | 71 | 56 | 75 | 41 | 7 | 12 | 5 | — | | | | | | | 6.4 |
| 1937 | 100 | 56 | 100 | 47 | 36 | 27 | 22 | 11 | — | | | | | | 12.6 |
| 1938 | 100 | 56 | 100 | 65 | 57 | 54 | 32 | 37 | 9 | — | | | | | 22.4 |
| 1939 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 76 | 86 | 76 | 75 | 72 | 31 | 17 | — | | | | 42.9 |
| 1940 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 82 | 86 | 88 | 82 | 80 | 65 | 57 | 30 | — | | | 63.2 |
| 1941 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 94 | 86 | 90 | 85 | 85 | 85 | 73 | 67 | 41 | — | | 78.0 |
| 1942 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 94 | 86 | 93 | 92 | 93 | 94 | 89 | 86 | 73 | 71 | — | 89.2 |
| Never | 100 | 100 | 100 | 94 | 93 | 95 | 92 | 93 | 98 | 98 | 100 | 91 | 86 | 0 | 94.7 |
| Never | — | — | — | 6 | 7 | 5 | 8 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 9 | 14 | 100 | 5.3 |
| No. of Cases | 7 | 9 | 4 | 17 | 14 | 41 | 40 | 54 | 89 | 83 | 43 | 22 | 7 | 3 | 438 |

* In this table operators are classified by the year in which they started planting hybrid seed (reading across the page). For each of these groups there is shown what percentage planted all their acreage to hybrid in each successive year to 1942. Thus, for example, among farmers starting to plant hybrid in 1930, 44 percent were planting all their acreage in hybrid in 1934.

those most experimentally minded; i.e., those trying it first in the early years; and it was accepted with only somewhat less caution by those trying it after several years of proven superiority.

Increasing Use (Areas of the State)

Recognizing the lag in the southern part of the state, the cycle of partial adoption as well as the progression toward complete acceptance was much the same in the various type-of-farming areas.

It is evident from Table V that in each area preliminary adoption was on a trial basis. Among the earliest adopters, median percentages of corn in hybrid ranged from 15 percent in the Western Cattle Feeding Area to 31 percent in the Southern Pasture. In each area there was a general, although usually at first lagging, increase in the size of hybrid plantings as time went on. The operators in the Cash Grain Area appeared least willing to put sizeable fractions of their land in hybrid upon its initial plant-

ing. While very few southern operators tried the seed in the early years, those who did planted relatively large shares of their acreage to it. For example, the median southern farmer using hybrid first in 1936 planted more than half his corn acreage to it that initial year. This was more than twice that planted by 1936 beginners in the Dairy, Cash Grain, and Western Livestock Areas. The Eastern Livestock operators were early in trying hybrid seed and also planted relatively large fractions of their land to it from the start.

The paucity of cases accepting hybrid in each separate year probably makes for some erratic fluctuations in the data, but the caution of even the later acceptors is evident in practically every area. The relatively high acreages planted in the south tend further to dispel the idea that the retardation of this area in first acceptance was related to greater "inertia" or conservatism.

Turning to the attainment of 100 percent hybrid planting by operators

TABLE V. MEDIAN PERCENT OF ACREAGE PLANTED TO HYBRID SEED IN FIRST YEAR OF ITS ADOPTION—BY AREA.

| Year Adopted | Dairy | | Cash Grain | | Western Livestock | | Southern Pasture | | Eastern Livestock | |
|-----------------|--------------|--------|--------------|--------|-------------------|--------|------------------|--------|-------------------|--------|
| | No. of Cases | Med. % | No. of Cases | Med. % | No. of Cases | Med. % | No. of Cases | Med. % | No. of Cases | Med. % |
| Before '34 | 10 | 17 | 15 | 18 | 12 | 15 | 6 | 31 | 8 | 20 |
| 1934 | 9 | 15 | 9 | 25 | 9 | 17 | 2 | 10 | 12 | 25 |
| 1935 | 12 | 26 | 19 | 23 | 5 | 22 | 0 | — | 2 | 55 |
| 1936 | 12 | 25 | 8 | 20 | 6 | 36 | 13 | 52 | 12 | 60 |
| 1937 | 13 | 32 | 14 | 20 | 23 | 18 | 21 | 44 | 6 | 30 |
| 1938 | 18 | 25 | 16 | 20 | 18 | 37 | 21 | 41 | 5 | 59 |
| 1939 | 3 | 85 | 8 | 50 | 6 | 49 | 17 | 52 | 7 | 85 |
| 1940 | 5 | 37 | 1 | 95 | 7 | 52 | 3 | 92 | 2 | 85 |
| '41 & '42 | 1 | 95 | 1 | 95 | 2 | 90 | 3 | 65 | 1 | 95 |
| Total Operators | 83 | 26 | 91 | 22 | 88 | 26 | 86 | 47 | 55 | 35 |

TABLE VI. CUMULATED PERCENTAGES OF OPERATORS REACHING 100% PLANTINGS BY AREA (1934 AND BEFORE TO 1942).

| Year | Dairy | Cash Grain | W. Live-stock | S. Pastures | E. Live-stock |
|--------------|-------|------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|
| '34 & before | 6 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 5 |
| 1935 | 8 | 12 | 2 | 1 | 9 |
| 1936 | 16 | 18 | 10 | 4 | 16 |
| 1937 | 23 | 32 | 15 | 15 | 28 |
| 1938 | 47 | 58 | 34 | 26 | 52 |
| 1939 | 68 | 75 | 59 | 50 | 73 |
| 1940 | 83 | 86 | 68 | 71 | 84 |
| 1941 | 91 | 96 | 86 | 87 | 86 |
| 1942 | 95 | 99 | 94 | 96 | 89 |

TABLE VII. PERCENTAGES OF THOSE USING HYBRID PLANTING 100% HYBRID IN VARIOUS YEARS BY AREA (1934 AND BEFORE TO 1942).

| Year | Dairy | Cash Grain | W. Live-stock | S. Pastures | E. Live-stock |
|--------------|-------|------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|
| '34 & before | 26 | 29 | 5 | 0 | 15 |
| 1935 | 23 | 27 | 8 | 12 | 27 |
| 1936 | 35 | 33 | 28 | 20 | 29 |
| 1937 | 38 | 45 | 25 | 33 | 45 |
| 1938 | 58 | 64 | 44 | 38 | 73 |
| 1939 | 79 | 75 | 65 | 57 | 90 |
| 1940 | 91 | 86 | 74 | 76 | 100 |
| 1941 | 99 | 95 | 93 | 91 | 100 |
| 1942 | — | — | — | — | 100 |

in the different parts of the state, it appears that the southern area was somewhat slower than others (Table VI). However, these operators were not much behind those of the Western Livestock Area in the attainment of total plantings. The Eastern Livestock region was the most rapid of all in this as in other measures of diffusion speed. But while it is evident that the areas slowest in partial adoption were also slowest in terms of 100 percent plantings, it would scarcely be expected otherwise. (Since relatively few in these areas were planting any hybrid in the early years, we could not expect the number of operators planting all their acreage in hybrid to be great.) Accordingly, it is interesting to note the rapidity with which operators already planting hybrid came to 100 percent adoption. Thus, some further measure of resistance to increased use can be gained. Table VII indicates that the operators of the southern region were probably somewhat slower than the average in reaching 100 percent adoption. However, their lag was about equal to that of the Western Livestock farmers. Any interpretation of these lags

should take into account the similar economic and climatic conditions in these areas during the period involved. No explanation involving "technical conservatism" can be applied to *both* of these areas since the western is probably the most highly mechanized in the state. Only to the extent (actually very slight) that southern Iowa lagged behind the *western* area could these data be interpreted in terms of isolation or inertia. The farmers of the Dairy and Cash Grain Areas increased their plantings to the 100 percent mark with about equal rapidity. The most rapid progress toward complete hybrid plantings was, as we might expect, in the Eastern Livestock Area. This was the only area in which all farmers planting hybrid had reached the 100 percent mark before 1941.

It is clear that throughout the diffusion process in Iowa, the eastern area was most rapid. In part this was undoubtedly due to the influence brought to bear on these farmers somewhat earlier than in some other parts of the state. In part it may reflect greater prosperity and a high

susceptibility to technical improvements, but no direct confirmation of the latter is to be found in the data. At the other extreme the southern area lagged in its first acceptance of the new seed, but probably largely, either directly or indirectly, because of the seed's unavailability. There is no evidence that farmers of this area were retarded due to excessive conservatism, and there is some indirect evidence that this was not true. In general these data have demonstrated that little importance can be attached to cultural conditions as an explanation for different rates of adoption. The state is apparently too homogeneous in its regions to indicate such influences except for short-run economic ones. On the other hand, the curve of diffusion itself must reflect considerable variation in the awareness and the conservatism of individual farm operators, and this time pattern with which hybrid was adopted, both in terms of original trial use and of increasing use by the individual operator, was much the same in the different areas. A significant exception to this lies in the eventually more rapid transition to the new seed in areas where its introduction was most retarded.

Conclusion

The phenomenal success of hybrid corn diffusion is in no small part a tribute to the combined efforts of commercial and educational organizations. But on the strength of the data in this study, it might be noted that hybrid seed corn has one character-

istic setting it apart from many other economic farm practices or techniques for which diffusion has been far less rapid. Hybrid seed is infinitely divisible. The potential acceptor can, if he wishes, and most did, try out the new technique on a very small scale. No operator must make an economically *serious* decision if he would try a new type of seed. If the "trial run" process is as important to farmers as it would appear from these data, then the possibility of practical, personal "experimentation" with a new technique offers it more favorable prognosis of rapid spread. Never in the diffusion of the seed was a speculative or dramatic decision demanded of the farmer. The power of direct personal experience is surely great and even for most conservative operators this was possible without much risk. Hybrid seed corn spread rapidly because of its outright superiority and its intelligent and energetic promotion, but other techniques have had great economic potentials and strong promotion and have been less rapidly accepted. Hybrid seed offered a peculiar adaptation to the psychological requirements of potential users.

The trend toward hybrid was not a long period of steady growth. Rather, after some years of tentative practical experimentation by relatively few operators, the seed swept the state in a tidal-wave fashion. This observation directly substantiates and extends the results of the earlier study. The rapidity and completeness of this sweep probably has few parallels, if any, in the field of agricultural technology,

where diffusion depends upon acceptance by thousands of individuals in varying degrees of contact with informational channels and with varying degrees of rationality, ability, and enterprise.

A Scale for the Measurement of Social Participation Of Rural Households

By Donald G. Hay†

ABSTRACT

While sociometric scales have been constructed and at least one partially standardized for the measurement of formal organization participation, there has been a demand for a scale which would also measure informal group participation. The scale here reported is an attempt to measure the extent of both formal and informal group participation of rural households. Data obtained in a central New York dairy community and in a general farming area in northern Pennsylvania were used as a basis for construction and partial standardization of the scale. Validity and reliability tests proved satisfactory. Further work on the scale includes standardization tests in other areas and the possible revision of the scale including possibilities for reducing the number of items.

Although social participation has long been recognized as a principal core of sociology, the measures used to determine the extent of participation have varied widely. Membership, attendance, and other types of contacts in formal and informal groups have been used either as single indices of participation or occasionally as a composite measure. The primary purpose of the study here reported was to set up a social participation scale, and partially standardize it, which may serve as a tool in determining the extent of social participation of families or households.

For purposes of the study, social participation was defined as the voluntary sharing in person-to-group and group-to-group relationships beyond

the immediate household. Social participation was interpreted as including both formal and informal group activities. The tentative principle given by Chapin was a basic orientation: "A rough measure of the volume of social stimuli may be had by counting the number of different activities an individual participates in (within a unit of time) with supplementary facts on the number of executive positions held within range of these activities."¹

The number of different group (formal and informal) activities in which individuals had shared during the previous year was used as the basic measure of social participation.

¹ F. S. Chapin, "Measuring the Volume of Social Stimuli: a Study in Social Psychology," *Social Forces*, IV. (March, 1926), 479-495.

† Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

A review of reports previously published indicated that scales had been developed and that one had been partially standardized for use in measuring formal organization participation. However, no evidence was found of a scale constructed to measure both formal and informal group participation.

As a measure of participation in formal group activities, the Chapin Social Participation Scale has shown satisfactory results, therefore, this scale was used for the formal group section of the schedule. A list of informal group activities was developed from an examination of reports of previous studies, supplemented with other activities suggested by several rural sociologists and by leaders of rural organizations. The formal and informal group items were then combined in the experimental schedule.

The schedule was first tested in a central New York State dairy area. Data were obtained by personal interview for 138 open-country households, selected by random sampling, in the Holland Patent-Barneveld community of Oneida County, New York.² Information as to social participation during the previous year was obtained for all persons 10 years of age and over in these households. This focused the

coverage on those persons assumed to participate on a voluntary basis in formal and informal group activities.

Weighting the Types of Participation

Weightings of the different types of participation were provided by judgment ratings by 25 leaders of rural organizations in Oneida County. A majority favored the following order from lowest to highest ranking: (1) membership, (2) attendance, (3) contributions, (4) committee membership, and (5) holding an office. Chapin obtained this same ranking from about 40 executives in social agencies of the Twin Cities.³ This order was then used in assigning arbitrary weights from one to five to the above types of participation in formal groups.

The 25 leaders were also asked to rank types of participation in informal group activities. A clear majority gave the following order from lowest to highest ranking: (1) attending informal group activities and (2) taking part (an active part such as playing baseball, etc.) in informal group activities. Arbitrary weights of "one" and "two" were then assigned to these sharings in athletic events, card games, dances, drama, fairs, group picnics, group parties, group suppers-dinners, movies, and pool-billiards-bowling.

The same organization leaders ranked number of villages and cities to which trade trips were regularly made and number of families regular-

² A community in New York State was selected primarily to check findings with the several social participation studies made by W. A. Anderson of Cornell University. For analysis of the relationship of selected factors and social participation of the 138 households see D. G. Hay, *Measurement of the Social Participation of Rural Households in a Central New York Dairy Community*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota, June, 1947.

³ F. S. Chapin "Social Participation and Social Intelligence," *American Sociological Review*, IV, (April, 1939), 157-168.

ly visited in order of the importance they held as informal contacts with other persons or groups. A clear majority gave the following order from lowest to highest ranking: (1) number of villages and cities to which trade trips were regularly made and (2) number of families regularly visited. Weights of "one" and "two" were then assigned respectively to these types of informal contact.

The sum of the scores of the members of the household 10 years of age and over for both formal and informal group participations, divided by the number of persons 10 years of age and over in the household, was used as the total social participation score of that household. The number of villages and cities to which trade trips were regularly made and the number of families regularly visited were scored on a household basis.

Selection of Items for the Scale

Selection of items from the experimental schedule for the social participation scale involved analysis of items by three general approaches: (1) examination of the ideational content and cultural distribution; (2) testing of the relationship of some scale items with identifiable groups; and (3) determination of the differentiating capacity of items.

Examination of ideational content was made on the assumption that an attempt to give logical reasons for including or excluding items is a step toward explicit formulation which can be more readily checked by the considered judgment of other workers.

Ideational content and cultural distribution was considered for these items: (1) number of villages and cities to which trade trips were regularly made, (2) number of families regularly visited, (3) number of families with whom work was regularly exchanged, (4) number of families with whom equipment was regularly exchanged, and (5) pool-billiards-bowling.

The other social participation items shown in Table II have given empirical evidence that they are forms of social participation. Sharing in formal organizations has been widely used as a measure of social participation. Attendance and/or overt activity in athletic events, card games, dances, drama, fairs, group picnics, group suppers, and group parties have been used satisfactorily as measures of informal social participation.⁴

The number of villages and cities regularly contacted appears to have meaning as a measure of social interaction of households. The term "regularly" was defined as meaning once or more a year. In practically all cases, "regular" trading trips were made

⁴ Illustrative studies including informal activities are: C. A. Anderson, and Bryce Ryan, "Social Participation Differences Among Tenure Classes in a Prosperous Commercialized Farming Area," *Rural Sociology*, VIII, (1943), 281-290.

J. L. Hypes, *Social Participation in a Rural New England Town*, Contrib. to Education, No. 258, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927.

C. E. Lively, *Rural Recreation in Two Ohio Counties*, Ohio State University Graduate School Series No. 1, 1927.

A. R. Mangus and H. R. Cottam, *Level of Living, Social Participation and Adjustment of Ohio Farm People*, Ohio AES Bulletin 624, 1941.

once or more a month to the indicated villages and cities. But even though a trip is made regularly only once a year to a village or city, it probably provides significant social relationships. The number of villages and cities to which trade trips were regularly made was selected as the item to be used rather than the number of trips made because logically it agreed with the indicated basic measure of social participation used in the study: the number of different group activities in which individuals shared during the previous year.

The incidence of family visiting or the number of family visits within a unit of time has been used as a measure of informal social participation. In the present study, the number of different families regularly visited was selected as the item for the same reasons that are given for use of the number of villages and cities to which trade trips were regularly made.

An indication of the cultural distribution of family visiting in rural areas is provided in a series of studies of contemporary rural communities.⁵ These six communities were selected to represent a range from relatively

stable to relatively unstable rural communities; they were chosen from varying cultural situations and because of the uniform study procedures employed they make useful bases from which to check partially the distribution of some participation items. Family visiting was particularly significant in the rather unique cultural situations represented by Lancaster County, Pa. and El Cerrito, New Mexico. The other four communities generally reported that family visiting was less frequent than in former years but that it was still important as an avenue of social interaction.

Exchange of work and exchange of equipment are considered together as to their ideational content and cultural distribution. These informal group activities are usually considered primarily as economic undertakings rather than sociological, although group relationships are involved.

The "bee" arrangement of earlier times, when the women also got together during the exchange work and when there was opportunity for considerable visiting among both men and women, has apparently declined. The more specialized jobs characteristic of modern farming often limit informal contacts between exchange workers. Relatively less social interaction apparently is involved in exchange of equipment than of work. When trading of equipment is not coincidental with exchange work, the contacts characteristically are limited to the making of the arrangements.

The series of reports on contemporary communities indicated rela-

⁵ Culture of Contemporary Rural Community studies: O. Leonard, and C. P. Loomis, *El Cerrito, N. Mex.*, Rural Life Studies No. 1, 1942; E. H. Bell, *Sublette, (Haskell Co.), Kansas*, Rural Life Studies No. 2, 1942; K. MacLeish, and K. Young, *Landaff, N. Hamp.*, Rural Life Studies No. 3, 1942; W. M. Kollmorgen, *The Old Order Amish of Lancaster Co., Pa.*, Rural Life Studies No. 4, 1942; E. O. Moe, and C. C. Taylor, *Irwin, (Shelly Co.), Iowa*, Rural Life Studies No. 5, 1942; W. Wynne, *Harmony, Ga.*, Rural Life Studies No. 6, 1943; Bur. Agr. Economics, U. S. Dept. Agric., Washington, D. C.

tively little use of exchange labor and exchange equipment except in Lancaster County and El Cerrito and, as already stated, these areas are unique among rural communities. The trend toward fewer exchanges in the communities studied was reported, particularly the decline in the "bee" type of group arrangement.

Pool, billiards, and bowling may mean contacts between two or among several individuals. It would appear that other than person-to-group relationships are involved, particularly for farm people. Men may go to the local pool hall or bowling alley for a short period of recreation as they have opportunity while they are in a village or city on a trading trip. This appears to be more usual than participation in these activities by many individuals from rural households on a group basis, such as the bowling tournament. The latter is probably more significant for nonrural persons. Only 5 of the 138 households in the current study reported any participation in pool, billiards, or bowling.

The reports of contemporary communities stated that these activities were relatively insignificant informal functions for rural people in two of the communities (Shelby, Iowa and Haskell County, Kansas) and were not cited in the other four community reports.

The number of different group (formal and informal) affiliations of the 138 households was used as a criterion of identifiable groups to check the validity of the items just

discussed, except pool-billiards-bowling, as measures of social participation.

TABLE I. CORRELATION OF NUMBER OF DIFFERENT GROUP AFFILIATIONS WITH SOME ITEMS OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION FOR 138 HOUSEHOLDS.

| Social Participation Items | Correlation with Number of Different Group Affiliations (Pearsonian r) |
|--|---|
| Number of villages-cities to which trade trips were made regularly | +.41 |
| Number of families visited regularly | +.52 |
| Number of families exchanging work | +.42 |
| Number of families exchanging equipment | +.27 |

Table I shows that the correlations were positive and relatively low for all the items. However, there may be a fair degree of association between number of different group affiliations and number of villages and cities to which trade trips were regularly made, number of families regularly visited, and number of families exchanging work.

In developing a scale of social participation, it is desirable to identify those items which do not have great discriminative value. Items which have the greatest discriminating power contribute most to the dispersion of the total scores, therefore, they enhance the reliability of the scale in showing differences between low and high participants in group activities. The criterion of internal consistency is often used to select the more discriminative items. As indicated by Sletto, "it is essentially the use of total score on all items of a

TABLE II. CALCULATION OF DISCRIMINATIVE VALUE OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION ITEMS BY COMPARISON OF MEAN SCORE OF LOW AND HIGH QUARTILES OF DISTRIBUTION OF 138 SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS.

| Social Participation Item | Mean Score of Items | | Difference Between Quartile Mean Scores | Critical Ratio of Differences Between Quartile Mean Scores |
|--|---------------------|---------------|---|--|
| | Low Quartile | High Quartile | | |
| Farm Organizations | 1.0 | 6.4 | 5.4 | 7.0 |
| Church Organizations | 2.6 | 7.5 | 4.9 | 8.1 |
| Number of families regularly visited | 2.9 | 7.3 | 4.4 | 5.0 |
| Dances | .4 | 2.7 | 2.3 | 5.5 |
| Educational Organizations | .1 | 2.1 | 2.0 | 4.8 |
| Fraternal Organizations | .1 | 1.8 | 1.7 | 3.5 |
| Number of families with whom work was regularly exchanged | .3 | 1.9 | 1.6 | 4.2 |
| Athletic Events | .1 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 3.8 |
| Group picnics | .4 | 1.8 | 1.4 | 4.2 |
| Civic-patriotic organizations | .1 | 1.4 | 1.3 | 4.1 |
| Group suppers | .4 | 1.7 | 1.3 | 3.4 |
| Fairs | .9 | 2.1 | 1.2 | 3.1 |
| Card Games | .3 | 1.4 | 1.1 | 3.6 |
| Drama | .04 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 4.2 |
| Youth organizations | .01 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 2.7 |
| Movies | 1.3 | 2.2 | .9 | 3.3 |
| Group parties | .0 | .8 | .8 | 2.7 |
| Number of villages-cities to which trips were regularly made | 2.7 | 3.3 | .6 | 2.4 |
| Number of families with whom equipment was regularly exchanged | .2 | .8 | .6 | 3.3 |
| Pool-billiards-bowling | .1 | .01 | .1 | 1.3 |

scale to evaluate each individual item."⁶

The criterion of internal consistency was used with the lowest and highest quartiles of the distribution. Total social participation scores were first computed for each of the 138 schedules. These scores were then arrayed from lowest to highest. The array was then divided into approximately equal quarters, with the 35 cases having the lowest total scores in the lowest quartile, the 35 next highest in the second, the 33 next highest in the third, and the 35 highest in the fourth quartile.

⁶ R. F. Sletto "A Critical Study of the Criterion of Internal Consistency in Personality Scale Construction," *American Sociological Review*, I, (1936), 61.

The score for each of the social participation items listed in Table II was then separately computed for each of the households in the two extreme quartiles as to total scores. The mean score of each item for all households in each extreme quartile was then computed. These mean scores of each item in the low and high quartiles are shown in the first and second columns of Table II. The difference between these quartile mean scores is the discriminative value of each item. Items are listed in Table II according to their discriminative value. Pool-billiards-bowling was the sole item in which the lowest quartile exceeded the highest quartile. It will be recalled that only five households

reported this activity, which made the representation for this item inadequate. The items yielded an average discriminative value of 1.75.

The critical ratio for each difference (ratio of a difference to its standard error) was computed to ascertain the statistical significance of the differences between mean scores of the extreme quartiles. The last column of Table II shows that the critical ratios ranged from 1.3 to 8.1. Excluding pool-billiards-bowling, as the number of cases for this item was inadequate, all of the other items had a critical ratio of 2.4 and over. With a critical ratio of 2.0, the chances are 21.0 to 1 that the indicated difference in mean scores is a true difference. This indicated that all of the items, excluding pool - billiards - bowling, yielded statistically significant discriminative values.

Three of the twenty items used in the experimental schedule were dropped as a result of the item analysis. These were: pool-billiards-bowling, number of families with whom work is regularly exchanged, and number of families with whom equipment is regularly exchanged.

Pool-billiards-bowling was dropped because its low incidence in this and other studies suggests that this item is relatively rare as a rural group activity. The items of exchange labor and exchange of equipment were dropped because of their ideational weaknesses as group activities and also on account of their relatively low validity when checked against number of different group affiliations.

The social participation scale as

developed was set up as follows. In addition to the information on household composition and distances involved in trade trips and family visits, data were obtained for other factors which were assumed to be related to social participation. These factors included size of farm, mobility of household, and socio-economic status.

The scale was tested for validity and reliability in the Holland Patent-Barneveld community and in a sample of 100 rural households in Bradford County, Pennsylvania.

Validity of the Scale

As the validity of a scale depends on the relationship of scores with accepted criteria of validation, the following tests of validity were used: (1) relationship of scale scores with identifiable groups, (2) relationship with identifiable behavior, and (3) relationship with another scale which has demonstrated ability to measure the phenomenon for which the present scale is designed.

Identifiable groupings of the sample households were based on (1) socio-economic status scores and (2) number of different group affiliations per household. Coefficients of correlation between participation scores and households identified as to socio-economic status were + .58 and + .49 respectively for Holland Patent-Barneveld community and Bradford County. This is not as high correlation as was obtained by Chapin (r was +.62)⁷

⁷ F. S. Chapin, "The Measurement of Sociality and Socio-Economic Status," *Sociol. and Sociol. Research*, XII, (1927-28), 208-217.

293

[illegible]

for his scale of formal organization participation with socio-economic status. The hypothesis is offered that a scale which measures both formal and informal social participation will have a lower correlation with socio-economic status than will a scale which measures formal participation, as many of the households of lower socio-economic status apparently obtain a large share of their group activities in informal groupings, including attendance at movies. The relationship between participation scores and number of group affiliations was used as a test of validity of the scale. The coefficients of correlation were $+ .81$ and $+ .80$, respectively, for the two samples of rural households.

The average number of meetings attended in a unit of time was used as an identifiable behavior criterion in checking with participation scores for the New York community. A correlation coefficient of $+ .63$ was shown.

The scale scores were correlated with the scores of the Chapin Social Participation Scale and indicated coefficients of $+ .92$ and $+ .91$, respectively, for the New York State community and the 100 rural households in Bradford County.

The scale therefore met all of these validity tests satisfactorily and indicated its ability as an instrument for measuring social participation.

Reliability of the Scale

Tests of reliability are directed toward determining whether the scale

is capable of yielding consistent scores in repeated tests. In the central New York community, the scores for the odd and even numbered participation items of the same households were correlated. The coefficient was $+ .89$. Another test of reliability was used in the sample of rural households in Bradford County. Paired siblings furnished information for the participation of their parental households (45 cases) and their respective scores were then correlated. The correlation coefficient for this test was $+ .94$. These two tests indicate relatively high reliability of the scale in terms of the usual standards.

Problems for Further Research

Analysis and study are needed for several problems in connection with the social participation scale. The validity and reliability need to be further tested both in similar cultural areas and in other areas. There is need for further examination of scale items, including opportunities for reducing the number of items. The phenomenon being measured, social participation, needs more rigorous examination and definition of its basic components. After the scale has been satisfactorily standardized, it will be useful to determine norms of the extent of social participation for different family groups such as farm, part-time farm, and village families; 'newcomer' families and long-time resident families; and other groups.

Factors Affecting Teacher Tenure in the Appalachian Highlands

By Wayne T. Gray†

ABSTRACT

Teacher tenure in the schools of Knox County is short as shown by a ten year study, varying from a minimum of a few weeks to a maximum of thirteen years and averaging 1.73 years.

Important factors affecting tenure were the isolated location of many one-room schools, the high pupil-teacher ratio, lack of books and equipment, low salaries, short school terms, and provincial viewpoint of local school officials.

Improved tenure may be secured by more highly trained teachers paid more adequate salaries, achieved through a state equalization school fund; the development of a stronger esprit de corps among teachers; and a more socially minded group of teachers. The consolidation of a number of schools during the thirties, and salary increases made effective during the war years, will tend to attract teachers with professional standards and lengthen teacher tenure in the schools of this area.

Knox County, in which the study serving as the basis of this paper was made, lies in the southeastern part of Kentucky, just north of historical Cumberland Gap, and near the points

where Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky join. (See Fig. 1.) The topography is rough and broken, and although now largely consisting of cut-over land and subsistence farms, it was once covered with a magnificent

† DePauw University.

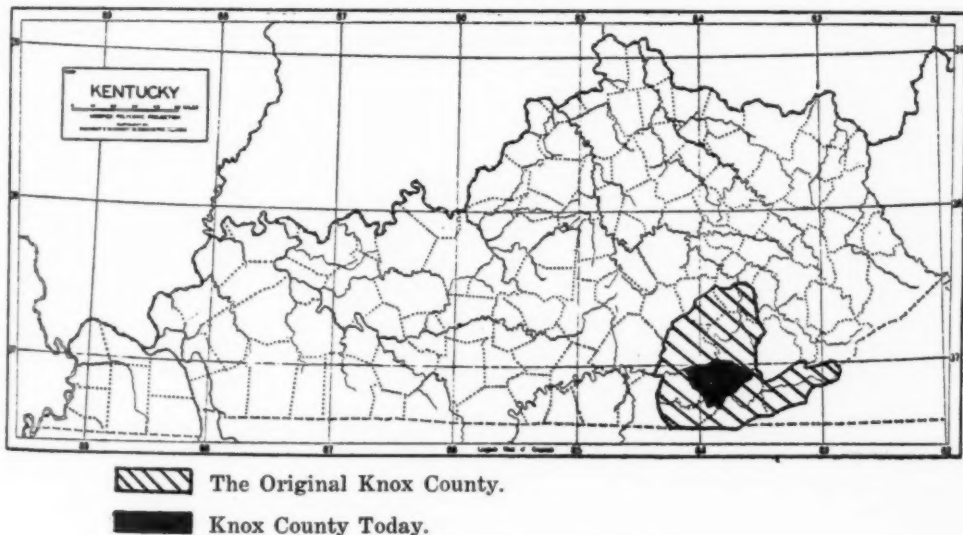


Figure 1. Location of Area Studied.

growth of timber. In the pioneer period a trail, known as the "Buffalo Road" or "Warrior's Path," led northwest from Cumberland Gap through the forest, across what is now Knox County. Over this trail Daniel Boone entered Kentucky in 1769; and over it also, many of the first settlers came into Kentucky and the Ohio Valley. Thus, this part of Kentucky was settled at an early date and Knox County became a political subdivision in 1799, just seven years after the larger territory had attained statehood. The original territory included in Knox County was much larger than at present, having since been divided among six counties. The city of Barbourville was laid out in 1801 as the county seat of Knox County and became the oldest town in that part of the State.

The settlement and development of southeastern Kentucky is attested to by the Census of 1810, which indicated a population of 69 for the inland metropolis of Barbourville. This probably does not indicate the true importance of this town during the early years of the 19th century, for the traffic over the "Wilderness Road" extending north from Cumberland Gap, was quite heavy. More than a half million head of farm livestock were ferried over the Cumberland River in 1827, indicating the volume of traffic passing through this County. The road through Cumberland Gap was the main thoroughfare connecting the eastern seaboard with the lands west of the Mountains until 1834, when steamboat facilities on the Ohio River, combined with canal

and railroad connections between Philadelphia and Pittsburg, made that the easier and, hence, the more popular route to the West. Between the above date and 1888, when the Louisville and Nashville Railroad was built into eastern Kentucky, the eastern mountain section was very much isolated.

The first record of a school being established in Knox County was in 1805, when land was set aside from the public domain for the purpose of establishing a school. The first effort at organizing education came in 1825, when the Knox County Court created seven school districts and appointed seven trustees to operate the school system in the county. It appears that the schools thus established were comparable to the schools in other pioneer regions of the country, and were satisfactory to a majority of the people for at least half a century. The progress made elsewhere seems to have been infectious, however, for in 1879, a group of citizens of Barbourville organized a private "tuition school" for the purpose of giving more training than was offered in the public schools of the area. This school was first called Union Academy and later on, upon the addition of college work, was renamed Union College. This institution, now a four year senior college, is still serving the educational needs of the people of eastern Kentucky.

The public schools of Knox County operated under the trustee system, with some modifications until 1884. In that year the office of County

Superintendent was created with the responsibility of discharging the duties of the former county school commissioners. The next reorganization of the school system came in 1908 when the county superintendent was invested with some authority, for example, as stated in the County Archives,—"to lay off, consolidate, or abolish school districts; condemn unfit school houses; visit each school once a year; make a complete report of the work done in the schools; and check up on the school trustees." The first public high school was organized at Barbourville in 1908. The high school subjects were taught by two teachers from Union Academy, the main building of which had burned in 1907 and had not yet been rebuilt. Thus high school subjects which had been available only in a "tuition school" now became accessible to the town students of Barbourville in a "free school."

In 1920 the county superintendent became executive officer and secretary of the county board of education, although trustees still continued to exercise much authority over the selection of the teacher and the payment of salaries. The final reorganization of the public school system—to date—came in 1936-1937, when the county superintendent was made executive officer of the school system in the County and the administration of these schools was taken out of the hands of local trustees and put in the hands of the county superintendent and a coun-

ty board of education composed of seven members.

This reorganization of the school system was made possible by three important developments. The first was the grading and paving of the mountain portion of the highway between Cincinnati, Ohio and Knoxville, Tennessee. After this all-weather road was completed, people had access by car to the larger cultural centers. This brought both cultural and educational stimulus to this area which was formerly isolated. A second influence was the depression of 1932-1935, which brought with it the W.P.A. and the necessity of putting people to work. One of the projects formulated to utilize this labor was the replacing of some of the older and more dilapidated frame school houses with stone structures built by relief labor. Better buildings stimulated people to want better schools, and thus the people were willing to cooperate—statically at least—when the movement to improve the schools was launched. The third factor was the leadership given by the faculty and alumnae of Union College. After this leaven had worked for a period, the reorganization of the public school system was brought about.

Knox County contains 373 square miles of territory and in 1936 had a population of about 29,000. Prior to 1936 there were 69 one-room rural schools, 18 two-room schools, and 9 schools with more than two rooms in the county. Only three of these gave any high school work, and one of them was the Barbourville Public

School. In the reorganization of 1936-1937 the one-room rural schools were reduced to 52, the two-room schools remained at 18, and 7 consolidated schools were organized. In addition there were two independent schools, one at Barbourville and one at Artemus, a neighboring village.

A senior high school was established at Barbourville, which is located near the center of the county, to which the majority of senior high school students are brought by means of busses. Five consolidated schools containing junior high school departments serve the graduates from most of the one and two-room public schools. When these students are ready to attend senior high, they are brought to the central high school. There is one consolidated high school near the west end of the County which offers all twelve grades of work. This school offers high school work for the graduates from the one and two-room schools in that part of the County as it is separated from the remainder by a ridge of hills which is crossed by few roads. The administration of all the county schools was placed in the hands of a county superintendent of public instruction who hires all the teachers, checks their certification, allocates them to their schools, issues pay vouchers, and keeps the records turned in by each teacher at the end of each month of school.

It was after having participated in the reorganization of the school system in Knox County, that the writer became interested in the problem

of teacher tenure in the public schools of the County. Many of the teachers had been in classes at Union College, and thus a contact had been made which was of assistance in studying the school situation. The study was set up in the spring of 1938. At that time it was decided to attempt to secure data back as far as 1930, and then to carry the data on to cover a ten year period. Later on, the study was extended until it includes a period of 15 years between 1931 and 1946.

Methodology

The method of study used was a composite of the statistical case study and participant observer techniques. The first approach was to contact the county superintendent's office and secure lists of the teachers for the various schools in the county. Such lists, except for the two years prior to 1937, were found to be non-existent. The next move was to contact each of the county teachers and request him to make a list of his predecessors back as far as 1930, for the school where he was teaching. Where the teachers failed to secure complete lists, other methods were tried to secure the teachers' names for those years, such as visits to the districts, and interviews with the last teacher known to have taught in such districts. After all of these methods had been tried, there were still some vacancies in the record. At times it appeared that two teachers served a one-room school for a given year. In some instances the enrollment was found to be so large that two teachers

taught in the same room. At other times each teacher had taught only part of the term. In a few instances a mistake in identity seemed to have been made. After 1938, the record is quite complete as data were added year by year, although the shifts during the years 1942 to 1945 were so numerous as to preclude absolute accuracy in the record.

In addition to the collecting of statistical data, a number of the schools were visited and served as case studies supplying valuable information. A number of students in the course in Rural Sociology assisted in these visits. Mr. Ralph York, a pre-ministerial student, performed the most valuable service along that line, visiting and writing up case studies on several schools.

Finally, the participant observer function was filled by the writer who spent 15 years as professor of sociology at Union College. During that time he had in class more than 40 percent of the teachers who taught in the County. Besides teaching, he roamed over the hills, hunted in the woods, and fished in the Cumberland River with his students, visited in their homes, and became familiar with their background and life.

Study Data

The materials upon which this report is based include 52 one-room rural schools and 18 two-room rural schools over a period of 15 years from 1931-1946, and 7 consolidated schools over a period of 9 years from 1937-1946. The teacher tenure record in-

cludes 85.4 percent of the teacher terms taught in the one-room schools and 80 percent of the teacher terms taught in the consolidated schools. The word "teacher term" is used so that the teaching units may be easily compared. A teacher term in a one-room school means one school term. In a two-room school where two teachers were employed, two teacher terms would be taught in one year. For the consolidated schools the number of teacher terms would be the number of teachers regularly employed for the year. If for any reason one teacher employed for the regular school term was unable to complete the term her place was taken by another teacher, then both together would complete one teacher term.

During the period under study, 449 different teachers were employed in the 52 one-room schools, making an average tenure of 1.47 years per teacher. Serving the two-room schools we find 297 teachers whose average tenure was 1.44 years. The consolidated schools had a little longer record of tenure when we find 400 teachers employed over 9 years with an average of 1.9 years in the same school. If the replacements due to the War were deducted, the tenure would be raised to 2.3 years per teacher. These data are presented in Table I.

The length of time individual teachers served in one school ranged from a few weeks to 13 years. One teacher taught in the same one-room county school for 13 years, 11 of which were consecutive. Three others taught in the same two-room school for eleven

TABLE I. TEACHER TENURE BY SCHOOLS

| Items | One-Room Schools | Two-Room Schools | Consolidated Schools |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Number of schools. | 52 | 18 | 7 |
| Number of years covered by study. | 15 | 15 | 9 |
| Total number of "teacher terms." | 780 | 540 | 759 |
| "Teacher terms" accounted for. | 646 | 430 | 759 |
| Percent of terms accounted for. | 85.4 | 80.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of teachers included in study. | 449 | 297 | 400 |
| | | | (330)* |
| Average tenure of teachers studied, yrs. | 1.47 | 1.44 | 1.0 |
| | | | (2.3)* |

* Number and average without direct effect of the War.

years. The tenure record for individual teachers in relation to any one school thins out very rapidly after four years. Only 3.4 percent of the teachers in the one-room schools, 2.7 percent in the two-room schools and 6.0 percent in the consolidated schools taught more than four years in the same school. On the other hand 71.8 percent, 74.0 percent, and 48.3 percent of the teachers in the one-room, two-room, and consolidated schools respectively taught one year or less in the same school. Eight years was the longest period of service in any of the consolidated schools, three teachers having remained in the same school for that length of time. Detailed data for teacher tenure years are tabulated in Table II.

This picture may not be as distressing as it seems, for a number of the teachers who taught in a school for a relatively short period had a long period of service in the schools of the County or the area. While there is a difference between people who use teaching as a stop-gap job between school and profession or as a stepping stone to get an education for some other type of work, and

those who make teaching their life work, yet longer tenure for all teachers can have important values, even in the one-room rural school. It would seem desirable for teachers to remain in the same school and in contact with the same children for three or four years at least, if they are to do the best work in guiding the child's total development.

Causes of Short Tenure

The causes of short tenure, as found in this study, may be listed under four main heads. These are (1) physical causes, (2) personal causes,

TABLE II. TEACHER TENURE BY YEARS.

| Length of Tenure | One-Room Schools | Two-Room Schools | Consolidated Schools |
|------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Less than 1 year | 47 | 30 | 67* |
| 1 year | 275 | 192 | 126 |
| 2 years | 79 | 46 | 97 |
| 3 years | 22 | 10 | 46 |
| 4 years | 11 | 11 | 37 |
| 5 years | 7 | 1 | 15 |
| 6 years | 3 | 1 | 9 |
| 7 years | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| 8 years | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 9 years | 1 | 0 | |
| 10 years | 1 | 0 | |
| 11 years | 0 | 3 | |
| 12 years | 0 | 0 | |
| 13 years | 1 | 0 | |

* Came largely during years 1942-1945.

(3) social causes, and (4) special causes.

The physical causes contributing to short tenure in many of the schools of Knox County are the roughness of the topography, the lack of good roads, and the limited economic opportunities for the rural people in the County. The broken topography makes the construction of roads an expensive and difficult task. Many

roads are unimproved trails, difficult to travel in summer and impassable in the winter season except by mule or wagon. Roads and trails follow the creek bottom, and thus each creek forms a separate community with the schools situated at neighborhood centers three or four miles apart along the creek valleys. Only one paved road passes through the County. This is from northwest to southeast, as

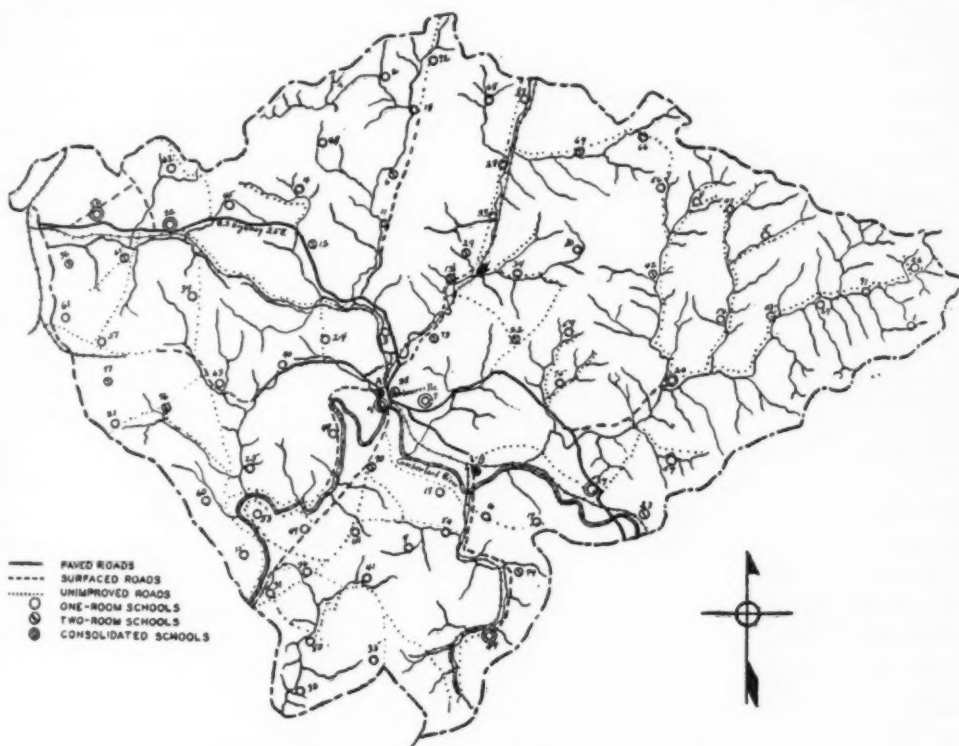


Figure 2. Location of Schools in Knox County, Kentucky.

One-room schools: 1. Alex, 2. Arat, 4. Baker, 5. Bargo, 8. Broughton, 9. Upper Brush, 10. Callebs, 15. Clate, 16. Lower Coal Port, 17. Upper Coal Port, 18. Crane, 19. Davis Bend, 21. Dowls, 24. Emanuel, 25. Engle, 26. Errose, 28. Fount, 30. Golden, 31. Goodin, 33. Green Road, 34. Green Grove, 35. Harps, 37. Haven, 39. Helton, 40. Paint Hill, 41. Hubbs, 43. Jeffs, 45. Keek, 46. Ketchen, 47. King, 48. Knox Fort, 49. Lake, 50. Lay, 51. Liberty, 53. Mackey, 54. Macroe, 55. Messer, 56. Mills, 57. Moore, 58. Myrick, 59. Paynes, 60. Permon, 61. Piney, 62. Poplar, 63. Reese, 64. Shady, 66.

Springs, 68. Sprule, 69. Stoney, 70. Taylor, 71. Tedders, 75. Turkey.

Two-room schools: 3. Baileys, 6. Bethel, 11. Callihan, 12. Campbell, 13. Cannon, 22. Dozier, 23. Elys, 29. Girdler, 36. Hart, 38. Heidrick, 42. Jackson, 65. Siler, 67. Spruce, 70. Swan Pond, 73. Trace, 74. Trosper, 76. Wells, 77. Wilton.

Consolidated schools: 7. Boone, 14. Central, 20. DeWitt, 27. Flat Lick, 32. Grays, 44. Kay Jay, 52. Lynn Camp.

may be seen from Fig. 2. During the past ten years other roads have been improved, but as yet the majority of the roads have no surfacing so that they must be classified as dirt roads. The large proportion of unimproved roads, and the distance of many school houses from the main highway compels the teachers serving schools in the outlying sections to remain in the district for weeks at a time without being able to get home, if they live outside of the district. Mail service does not reach each door but is sent to 38 postoffices, to which the people go to get their mail. It is little wonder, then, that the teachers serving the isolated districts change for schools in a more favorable location, as soon as possible. Before the schools were organized on a county basis many of the isolated districts paid less salary than those more favorably located, although since 1938, the remuneration has been the same, for equal training and experience.

Few of the roads which follow up the creeks are connected at the heads of the valleys, and therefore, association between creeks is limited during the winter months, and a high degree of consolidation is impossible.

Furthermore, the low economic income, both for the mountain people living from the land, and for ordinary work, prevents many people from owning cars, or the raising of much revenue to improve the roads. The main road through the county is a federal highway, while most of the other improved roads are state highways. The few miles of improved

county roads have been placed in strategic locations from the standpoint of use, and the votes which they would bring current politicians. About one-half of the schools are relatively well located in regard to the road system, while the other one-half are poorly situated.

Two years ago this past October, the writer went with the County Agent to visit a school in the northern part of the County. This school was seventeen miles from the county seat. For six miles the highway was surfaced with crushed limestone, it was graded and drained for the next six, and then for the last five miles we traveled over a wagon road which crossed the creek ten times. In places the mud was hub deep, although the winter rains had not yet begun. It seemed that we were going to get stuck a number of times, but the driver knew the road and pushed on through. He said that would be his last trip there that year. His reason for making that trip was to award some prizes to members of the 4-H club in the district which was having a meeting at the close of school that day.

Although there were two rooms in the building and 57 children were present, the school had only one teacher, and she was a lady who resided in the district. While the teacher was not highly trained and was teaching on an emergency certificate, she was doing a mighty fine job of teaching those 57 children, and she was giving them much leadership training outside of the formal classroom hours.

This lady had been prevailed upon to take the school after the county officials—in a war year—could get no one else to take such a large school in an isolated community.

There are a number of distinct personal influences which cause teachers to move from school to school. The first to be mentioned is closely associated with one already discussed. Being unable to get out of the community easily the teacher feels too much confined and becomes dissatisfied with the location of the school. This one factor frequently makes her dissatisfied with her work and with the neighborhood in general; hence the next year she either seeks a different school or another type of work.

A second personal factor is the attitude of the community toward the teacher, and of the teacher toward the people of the community. If the teacher dresses a little too well, the families of the community tend to consider her stuck up. They say that she feels too good for them, or that she puts on airs. If the community attitude compels her to change her mode of dress and deportment too radically, the teacher feels that she cannot live her own life, both of which influence the teacher to think of moving.

A third personal factor is lack of training and experience. The inexperienced teacher, with a minimum of training, is frequently placed in the more isolated or more difficult school. If she objects, she is told that the older teachers deserve the more desirable locations due to their senior-

ity. Thus she develops the attitude that she has one of the least desirable schools, and as soon as she obtains some experience, or some influence with the officials, she will insist on having a school which she considers to be more favorably located.

A final personal cause of change is that many teachers are teaching either because it is the only job available at the time, or it is a steppingstone to some other type of work. The writer has had many students in class who dropped out of college a year or two to teach for the purpose of recuperating their finances, so they could complete their college education. Some taught the regular 7 month term and completed the last two years of their college course by taking the last half of the spring semester and one or two summer terms each year. Others took extension work and completed their education during the summer. All of these factors militate against long terms in one school, as all of these teachers want schools as favorably located to educational facilities as possible.

The third group of factors causing short terms may be designated as social. An important factor in this group is the low requirements for the certification of teachers. In the 20's no college training was required for teaching in country schools. By 1930, 16 hours or one semester of college work was the minimum. This was raised to 64 hours by 1938. This gain in certification was largely lost in practical effect during the War, by the issuing of a large number

of emergency certificates. This and the comparatively low wages paid teachers in that area make it difficult to get teachers if the former 64 hour requirement is rigidly applied.

In some districts, nepotism has frequently been an important factor in deciding who would obtain the teaching position. School trustees favored relatives and friends when selecting teachers, whether or not these were the best qualified applicants for the position. Then again, until recently the attitude has been widespread that the young unmarried women should be given jobs. Hence the young woman, just out of school, was hired, rather than the older teacher with years of successful experience. Also, before the organization of the school system in Knox County on a county wide basis, teaching jobs were frequently bought and sold. The writer knows of teachers who paid the equivalent of one month's salary to have a school to teach. How could the school trustees get away with this, you ask? Merely by arranging so the teacher would board and room with one of the trustees, where the rate charged for board and room would be much higher than similar accommodations could be secured elsewhere.

Demands made by the leaders of the community upon the school teacher for leadership in the local church and other neighborhood movements cause some teachers to move on at the end of the year. The low wages paid in relation to other jobs, and the lack of books and equipment, which the teacher must frequently purchase if

she is to have them to use, cause many to change schools or go into some other occupation or profession as soon as possible. One teacher told the interviewer that when she went into one school, she had only six books for 46 scholars, and that she spent the equivalent of one month's salary for books and supplies during the winter. Some of the parents could not purchase books and others would not, so the teacher was compelled to furnish supplies or do without them.

Finally, the fluctuation in the number of children in some communities, either because of the small mines which operate only part of the time, or because of population changes—23 percent of the population of Knox County left between 1940 and 1945—caused some schools to need more teachers at one period than at another. All of these are social factors which influence the tenure of the teachers in the Public Schools of Knox County.

A final group of forces which has caused changes in teacher tenure has been listed as special factors. One of these coming infrequently, but of great influence during the period of this study, was the World War. Many of the younger men teachers were called into the armed forces, and a number equally great, both of men and women, gave up teaching for the more lucrative work to be found in the defense plants. Their places were filled partly by older persons who came back into the teaching field during the emergency and partly by persons, both young and old, who were grant-

ed emergency certificates to fill in the vacancies and keep the schools operating.

Directly related to the movement of people to defense plants is the shift of population within the County. People moved out to defense plants thus decreasing the number of children until some two-room schools became one-room schools. In addition, people moved from the more isolated farms into the villages and thus there was a shift, both in general population, and a change in teacher needs within the entire school system.

Now that the war is over, a number of G.I.'s who had been teaching are back and have been given their old positions. This will be a wholesome influence on these schools; however, it makes another break in the tenure of the teachers. These times of strain and stress place numerous problems upon the schools as well as upon the individuals within the community.

Results of Changing Tenure

We have now seen how numerous factors have united to make teacher tenure very short if not almost nonexistent. What can be said now, concerning the results of this short tenure in the schools of Knox or any other county?

Short tenure tends to retard or make difficult the development of professional pride in teaching. Thus the professional spirit is not easily developed and teaching tends to become an odd job, rather than a profession in which to spend one's active years.

Teachers, unless they develop the professional spirit and raise the standards of qualification, cannot command salaries high enough to attract the better individuals into the teaching profession. It is difficult also for the children to get the most out of their school experience, when such a short period is available to develop rapport between teacher and pupils, and between teacher and other members of the community. Possibly two brief sketches of different schools will make the meaning clearer.

At school number one, in 15 years there have been two teachers. The first of these teachers lived at the edge of the district where she taught. She is a fine little lady and a splendid teacher. One day, during the time this study was being made, a group of us visited her school. It was about three o'clock in the afternoon, and she was just returning from the hills nearby with her group of 35 children. Each child had its hands filled with leaves, plants, pieces of bark, or other materials which he or she had collected during the afternoon's field trip. For the next week, the reading, arithmetic, and other lessons would be filled with examples taken from that afternoon in the woods. The school building, although not new, was well painted and in splendid condition. Its equipment was adequate and it was a pleasant place for the children to work and study. In fact, all of the homes in the community manifest the same interest that was seen in the school house. This lady taught in that school for 11 consecu-

tive years. She left it only at the insistence of the county superintendent that she come into town and teach in the Central High School, where her services would have a much wider range of influence. Her place was taken by a younger woman, who, at the close of this study, had completed four years of teaching in that one-room rural school.

School number two is quite a contrast to the above. Seventeen teachers have been employed in 15 years. No teacher has remained more than one year, and at the time the school was visited, a woman teacher had just been "run out," as the expression was used, and a man had been hired to complete the term. When we arrived one afternoon, this man was walking up and down the aisle in the center of the school house. He had in his hand a stick, about an inch in diameter at one end and three-quarters of an inch at the other and three and one-half feet long. The room was "brittle" with a spirit of tension. The teacher greeted us briefly and continued his course up and down the room. Scarcely a scholar turned his head. The tense attitude of the students did not relax when a class was called. Neither did the teacher put down his scepter of authority. When school was dismissed, he told us that they had run 3 teachers out that year and that he was not going to be run out. However, he did not teach in that school the next year. It is little wonder that the teachers did not remain long in that school. Little equipment or sup-

plies were available. No parental interest was shown in the school and little in the students' conduct, and the school building was dilapidated and unsightly. There were present all evidences of a poor school in a poor situation. Which was cause and which effect? It would be difficult to state. Yet few influences which would tend to cause teachers to remain more than one year were found in this school district.

The slightly higher tenure in the consolidated schools appears to be due largely to the more favorable location of the schools and the more desirable social situation in which these teachers live and work. The longest average tenure was in Central High School located at Barbourville, the county seat town. Here the tenure, over a 9 year period averaged 3.5 years. This would have been almost four years if there had not been the call to the armed forces and the attraction of defense jobs during the war period.

What of the Future?

What can be done about the situation? In a county such as Knox, it is impossible to eliminate all of the one-room rural schools by consolidation. The roads are too poor, finances are too limited, and heads of the creeks too isolated and far apart, as may be seen by checking Fig. 2. Furthermore, it will be difficult to increase the term to 9 months without more taxes for school purposes and without a desire on the part of the school patrons for a longer school term. A school

equalization fund, state wide, or even better, nation wide, will tend to place more adequate finances where children are being raised and where they must necessarily be educated.

The raising of certification standards to a level where it will be impossible for people to use teaching as a steppingstone or stop-gap job, and where the teacher will have an adequate professional status in the community commensurate with the importance of her work, is a goal toward which society must strive. In addition to these, a reorganization of the economy of the Area, so fewer people will reside back in the isolated coves and hollows, will be of social value to the County.

This will take generations to accomplish, for these people are the descendants of the early settlers and are much attached to the locality in which they live and the land on which they reside. Thus the outlook for immediate change is not bright. However, improvement will come through vision and continual perseverance. It is up to the educational leaders in Knox County to leave no stone unturned to bring about improvements, and then sometime, possibly during the next half century, the children of Knox County, and the other similar marginal counties, will have the educational opportunities which they deserve as American Young People.

The Control of Child-Spacing in University Graduate Families

By W. A. Anderson†

ABSTRACT

Sixty per cent of the married graduates of Cornell University of the classes of 1919, '20, and '21 who have children say they tried to control the spacing of all of their children, 21 per cent tried to control the spacing of some but not of all, while 19 per cent did not try to space any of their children. Whether spacing is tried or not, the length of the interval of the succeeding birth is longer, on the average, than that of the preceding birth. The chances are about two out of three that the interval of the succeeding birth will be longer than the preceding one. When first births occur in less than two years after marriage, the chances of having only one child appear to be about one in ten and of having four or more, one in five. When first births do not occur until four or more years after marriage, then the chances of having only one child appear to be one in two and of having four or more, about one in fifty.

In the work on child-spacing being done in our Department of Rural Sociology, the hypothesis is presented

that the intervals between successive births are longer on the average than the intervals between the births that precede. This principle seems to apply

† Cornell University.

TABLE I. THE PROPORTION OF THE 944 FAMILIES OF CORNELL GRADUATES OF 1919, 1920, AND 1921 WHO HAVE REPLIED TO THE QUESTION OF THE CONTROL OF SPACING OF BIRTHS, BY THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN THE FAMILY.

| Number of Children | Men | | | Women | | | Total | | |
|--------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|
| | In Group-ing | No. Respond-ing | Per Cent Respond | In Group-ing | No. Respond-ing | Per Cent Respond | In Group-ing | No. Respond-ing | Per Cent Respond |
| 1 | 211 | 125 | 59.2 | 45 | 24 | 53.3 | 256 | 149 | 58.2 |
| 2 | 299 | 237 | 79.4 | 56 | 45 | 80.4 | 355 | 282 | 79.4 |
| 3 | 175 | 132 | 75.4 | 47 | 38 | 80.9 | 222 | 170 | 76.6 |
| 4 | 58 | 43 | 74.1 | 19 | 16 | 84.2 | 77 | 59 | 76.6 |
| 5 | 15 | 14 | 93.3 | 4 | 4 | 100.0 | 19 | 18 | 94.7 |
| 6 | 8 | 8 | 100.0 | 3 | 2 | 66.0 | 11 | 10 | 90.9 |
| 7 | 2 | 2 | 100.0 | 1 | 1 | 100.0 | 3 | 3 | 100.0 |
| 8 | 1 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0 | 1 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Total | 769 | 561 | 73.0 | 175 | 130 | 74.3 | 944 | 691 | 73.2 |

whether the family heads are rural or urban reared or married at different ages. It is pointed out, however, that it is not known whether this pattern of spacing is the result of biological factors or of conscious social controls.¹ This paper presents the view that our original thesis is true both in families where the control of spacing is consciously attempted and in families where it is not.

Our analysis of child-spacing is based on the intervals between the births of 2,147 live-born children to 944 graduates of the Cornell University classes of 1919, '20, and '21 who have one or more children and who provided the date of marriage, and the date of birth of each of their children.

In order to discover the differences in the spacing of children in families where conscious controls were used and those where they were not used, we asked the 944 university graduates

to reply to the following statement by checking the appropriate answer:

"In our family, we tried to control the spacing of
(check one)

- _____ All of our children
- _____ None of our children
- _____ Some but not all of children"

Of the 944 graduates, 691 or 73 per cent returned replies. Of the 769 men graduates, 561 or 73 per cent responded; of the 175 women graduates, 130 or 74 per cent replied. (Table I.) Seven of the returns are not used since the graduates returning them did not check any of the three possibilities listed. All seven of these simply state that they had only one child.

The Extent of Spacing

Eight of each ten families try to control the spacing of their children while two out of each ten do not. Of the 684 graduates, 60 per cent reported that they tried to control the spacing of all of their children and 21 per cent tried to control the spacing of

¹ W. A. Anderson, "The Spacing of Births in the Families of University Graduates," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIII (July, 1947), 23-24.

some but not of all their children. The other 19 per cent said they did not try to control the spacing of any of their children. (Table II.)

This is not an indication of the extent to which birth control is practiced in university graduate families. Our study of the spacing of children does not include married graduates who have no children.

In the families with one or two children, larger proportions sought to control the spacing of all of the births than in the families with several children. In the families with several children, the larger proportions sought to control the spacing of some but not of all the children. (Table II.)

There is an increase in the proportion of the families that did not endeavor to control the spacing of any of their children as the size of the family increases, for in the two child families only 16 per cent reported no effort at spacing while in the five, six and seven child families one-fifth and one-third reported that no attempt at spacing was made.

In the families with only one child it appears that there may be planning

to space the children should more than one conception occur. (Table II.) But when it is discovered that additional conceptions do not take place, no effort to space is made. Several of the respondents state that the problem in the one child family is not spacing, but why additional conceptions do not occur. Where there is a desire for more than one child but additional conceptions do not occur, the effort to space is apparently not attempted, according to the testimony. That is why, in all probability, such a large proportion of the one child families, 30 per cent, reported that they did not try to space any of their children. (Table II.)

Where spacing of all of the children is tried, 72 per cent of the families have no more than two children and only eight per cent have four or more. Where none of the children are spaced, 64 per cent of the families have no more than two children but 14 per cent have four or more. Where some but not all of the children are spaced, only 28 per cent have no more than two offspring, while 29 per cent have four or more. (Table III.) While these facts do not explain these differences,

TABLE II. THE NUMBER AND PER CENT OF THE FAMILIES WHO REPORT THAT THEY TRIED TO CONTROL ALL, SOME, OR NONE OF THE BIRTHS IN THEIR FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN THE FAMILY.

| Number of Children | Number Controlling | | | | Per Cent Controlling | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|------|------|-------|----------------------|------|------|-------|
| | All | None | Some | Total | All | None | Some | Total |
| 1 | 92 | 42 | 8 | 142 | 65 | 30 | 5 | 100 |
| 2 | 207 | 44 | 31 | 282 | 73 | 16 | 11 | 100 |
| 3 | 83 | 28 | 59 | 170 | 49 | 16 | 35 | 100 |
| 4 | 24 | 11 | 24 | 59 | 41 | 18 | 41 | 100 |
| 5 | 5 | 4 | 9 | 18 | 28 | 22 | 50 | 100 |
| 6 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 10 | 10 | 20 | 70 | 100 |
| 7 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 33 | 67 | 100 |
| Total | 412 | 132 | 140 | 684 | 60 | 19 | 21 | 100 |

TABLE III. THE PER CENT OF THE FAMILIES OF 684 CORNELL UNIVERSITY GRADUATES WITH A GIVEN NUMBER OF CHILDREN CLASSIFIED BY THEIR ATTEMPT TO CONTROL THE SPACING OF THEIR CHILDREN.

| Attempt was made to control the spacing of | Number of Children | | | | | | | Total |
|--|--------------------|----|----|----|---|---|---|-------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | |
| All the children | 22 | 50 | 20 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 100 |
| None of the children | 32 | 33 | 21 | 8 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 100 |
| Some but not all | 6 | 22 | 43 | 17 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 100 |
| Total | 21 | 41 | 25 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 100 |

it appears that, in the families where it is attempted to space some but not all of the children, spacing is probably resorted to after the first few children arrive.

The Pattern of the Birth Intervals

Whether or not the spacing of children is consciously attempted, the length of the interval between births appears, in general, to be longer for the succeeding than the preceding births.

When comparison is made of the average length of the intervals between births in the families where the parents tried to control the spacing of all of their children, some but not all of their children, or none of their children, the same uniformity appears in the spacing. The average number of months at which the succeeding births occur is longer in each different size of family than for the preceding births whether they sought to space the children or not. Where no effort at spacing occurred, the first child arrived in a shorter period of time after marriage on the average, than in the families where the spacing of all or some of the children is attempted. But the same regular decrease in the

average length of time between marriage and the first birth occurs as the size of the family increases whether effort is made to space all, some, or none of the children and this average time of the first birth is shorter than the average time before the next birth takes place. The average time, likewise, between first and second births is shorter than the average time between second and third births, and that between second and third births is shorter than that between third and fourth births and so on. (Table IV.)

The Chances of Longer Succeeding Intervals

Another way in which to show that the succeeding births usually occur after a longer interval than the preceding births, in addition to the use of average intervals, is to point out the proportion of the succeeding births which take place after a longer interval of time than the preceding ones, irrespective of the length of intervals.

In the 319 families of two or more children where the parents tried to control the spacing of all the children, there were 468 succeeding births. Of these 292 or 62.4 per cent came after a longer interval than the previous

births. In the 131 families of two or more children where the attempt is made to space some but not all of the children, there were 312 succeeding births, of which 214 or 68.6 per cent took place after a longer interval than the preceding births. In the 90 families of two or more children where no attempt is made to space any of the children, of the 165 succeeding births 109 or 66.1 per cent occurred after a longer time than the previous births. Thus, in the three groupings of families, whether spacing was at-

tempted or not, about two out of each three births took place after longer intervals than the preceding births, and the proportion is as large where this is true in the families where no spacing occurs as in the families where spacing is tried. Not only can it be concluded that the births of succeeding children take place, on the average, after a longer interval than the previous births, but that the chances are about two out of three that this will happen, irrespective of efforts at control.

TABLE IV. THE AVERAGE LENGTH OF THE INTERVAL IN MONTHS BETWEEN THE BIRTHS OF THE CHILDREN IN 684 FAMILIES OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY GRADUATES OF THE CLASSES OF 1919, '20, AND '21 BY THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN THE FAMILY AND BY EFFORT TO CONTROL SPACING.

| Interval between | Number of Children | | | | | | |
|--|--------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Spacing of all children attempted | | | | | | | |
| Marriage and first birth | 52.7 | 32.6 | 27.2 | 23.6 | 14.3 | 20.5 | |
| First and second birth | | 46.1 | 40.4 | 26.6 | 28.9 | 44.1 | |
| Second and third birth | | | 46.8 | 41.1 | 25.2 | 40.2 | |
| Third and fourth birth | | | | 47.0 | 24.7 | 42.3 | |
| Fourth and fifth birth | | | | | 36.1 | 42.3 | |
| Fifth and sixth birth | | | | | | 24.4 | |
| Number of families | 91 | 207 | 82 | 24 | 5 | 1 | |
| No effort to space any births | | | | | | | |
| Marriage and first birth | 43.1 | 28.8 | 20.1 | 15.1 | 17.0 | 32.9 | 9.0 |
| First and second birth | | 48.4 | 27.3 | 23.6 | 22.8 | 37.0 | 10.5 |
| Second and third birth | | | 56.0 | 36.1 | 25.0 | 27.1 | 15.2 |
| Third and fourth birth | | | | 60.8 | 30.1 | 40.1 | 19.3 |
| Fourth and fifth birth | | | | | 18.2 | 17.0 | 17.0 |
| Fifth and sixth birth | | | | | | 32.1 | 21.9 |
| Sixth and seventh birth | | | | | | | 55.0 |
| Number of families | 41 | 44 | 28 | 11 | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| Spacing of some but not of all attempted | | | | | | | |
| Marriage and first birth | 59.9 | 24.2 | 19.5 | 15.7 | 15.1 | 16.8 | 18.2 |
| First and second birth | | 56.2 | 35.2 | 22.1 | 16.8 | 21.5 | 15.5 |
| Second and third birth | | | 48.1 | 37.9 | 37.5 | 38.5 | 25.1 |
| Third and fourth birth | | | | 48.5 | 34.0 | 41.3 | 32.0 |
| Fourth and fifth birth | | | | | 40.8 | 27.1 | 36.9 |
| Fifth and sixth birth | | | | | | 46.6 | 21.9 |
| Sixth and seventh birth | | | | | | | 40.1 |
| Number of families | 8 | 31 | 58 | 24 | 9 | 7 | 2 |

In the families with two, three, or four children, in every instance except one, more than a majority of the succeeding children are born after a longer interval than the preceding children. (Table V.) This is true whether spacing is attempted or not. The exception is in the families with four children where spacing of all the children is tried. Here only one-half of the fourth births occurred after a longer interval than the third births. The number of families with five or more children is too small to give dependable results.

The Chances of a Given Number of Births

If births occur in the manner described, it might be possible to predict the probable number of children for a family from a knowledge of the time after marriage when the first birth occurs. Our study includes far too few families to venture so boldly but these data may be suggestive for the further study of this problem.

Where the first child is born in less than two years after marriage and attempt is made to space all births, 17 per cent of the families have four or

TABLE V. THE PER CENT OF THE SUCCEEDING BIRTHS THAT OCCURRED AFTER A LONGER INTERVAL THAN THE PRECEDING BIRTHS IN 684 FAMILIES OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY GRADUATES OF THE CLASSES OF 1919, '20, AND '21 BY THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN THE FAMILY AND BY EFFORT TO CONTROL SPACING.

| Relationship of Succeeding to Preceding Intervals of Birth | Number of Children | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|----|----|-----|-----|-----|
| | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Spacing of all children attempted | | | | | | |
| Second longer than the first | 65 | 70 | 54 | 100 | 100 | |
| Third longer than the second | | 55 | 71 | 20 | 0 | |
| Fourth longer than the third | | | 50 | 20 | 100 | |
| Fifth longer than the fourth | | | | 80 | 0 | |
| Sixth longer than the fifth | | | | | 0 | |
| Number of families | 207 | 82 | 24 | 5 | 1 | 0 |
| No effort to space any births | | | | | | |
| Second longer than the first | 75 | 61 | 64 | 75 | 50 | 100 |
| Third longer than the second | | 57 | 64 | 50 | 50 | 100 |
| Fourth longer than the third | | | 73 | 75 | 100 | 100 |
| Fifth longer than the fourth | | | | 25 | 50 | 0 |
| Sixth longer than the fifth | | | | | 100 | 100 |
| Seventh longer than the sixth | | | | | | 100 |
| Number of families | 44 | 28 | 11 | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| Some birth control | | | | | | |
| Second longer than the first | 87 | 87 | 71 | 67 | 71 | 50 |
| Third longer than the second | | 66 | 58 | 89 | 71 | 100 |
| Fourth longer than the third | | | 54 | 78 | 57 | 100 |
| Fifth longer than the fourth | | | | 67 | 29 | 50 |
| Sixth longer than the fifth | | | | | 57 | 50 |
| Seventh longer than the sixth | | | | | | 50 |
| Number of families | 31 | 58 | 24 | 9 | 7 | 2 |

more children, while 10 per cent have but one child. In those families, where the first child is born after four years of marriage, only one per cent have four children, and none have five or more children, while 44 per cent have but one child and 43 per cent have two children. If a first birth takes place within two years of marriage, even with spacing, the chances are about one in ten that the family will have only one child while the chances are

about one in eight that there will be four or more children. If a first birth does not occur until four or more years after marriage, the chances are only about one in a hundred that there will be as many as four children, and about eight or nine out of ten that there will be no more than two children.

When the same computations are made for the families where no attempt is made to space, if a birth

TABLE VI. THE PROPORTION OF 669 FAMILIES OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY GRADUATES OF 1919, '20, AND '21 WITH GIVEN NUMBERS OF CHILDREN BY THE EFFORT TO SPACE THE BIRTHS AND THE INTERVAL AT WHICH THE FIRST BIRTH OCCURRED AFTER MARRIAGE.

| First Birth after Marriage Occurs | 1 | 2 | Number of Children in the Family | | | | | Total |
|--------------------------------------|-----|-----|----------------------------------|----|----|----|---|-------|
| | | | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | |
| All Births Controlled | | | | | | | | |
| Within One Year | 9 | 44 | 30 | 13 | 4 | — | | 100 |
| 1 to 1.9 Years | 10 | 57 | 23 | 7 | 2 | 1 | | 100 |
| 2 to 2.9 Years | 23 | 52 | 22 | 3 | | | | 100 |
| 3 to 3.9 Years | 32 | 44 | 15 | 9 | | | | 100 |
| 4 to 4.9 Years | 38 | 46 | 16 | — | | | | 100 |
| 5 to 5.9 Years | 38 | 50 | 6 | 6 | | | | 100 |
| 6 to 6.9 Years | 18 | 55 | 27 | | | | | 100 |
| 7 | 65 | 31 | 4 | | | | | 100 |
| Number of families | 91 | 201 | 81 | 24 | 5 | 1 | | 403 |
| No Births Controlled | | | | | | | | |
| Within One Year | 10 | 42 | 26 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 100 |
| 1 to 1.9 Years | 26 | 37 | 22 | 13 | 2 | — | | 100 |
| 2 to 2.9 Years | 39 | 22 | 31 | 4 | 4 | — | | 100 |
| 3 to 3.9 Years | 56 | 22 | 22 | | | | | 100 |
| 4 to 4.9 Years | 50 | 17 | 17 | | | 16 | | 100 |
| 5 to 5.9 Years | 100 | — | | | | | | 100 |
| 6 to 6.9 Years | 75 | 25 | | | | | | 100 |
| 7 | 56 | 44 | | | | | | 100 |
| Number of families | 41 | 43 | 28 | 10 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 129 |
| Some but not all Births Controlled | | | | | | | | |
| Within One Year | 2 | 19 | 48 | 21 | 4 | 6 | — | 100 |
| 1 to 1.9 Years | 8 | 23 | 38 | 15 | 10 | 6 | — | 100 |
| 2 to 2.9 Years | — | 29 | 35 | 18 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 100 |
| 3 to 3.9 Years | — | 33 | 33 | 34 | | | | 100 |
| 4 to 4.9 Years | — | 25 | 75 | | | | | 100 |
| 5 to 5.9 Years | — | — | 100 | | | | | 100 |
| 6 to 6.9 Years | 100 | — | | | | | | 100 |
| 7 | 40 | 40 | 20 | | | | | 100 |
| Number of families | 8 | 31 | 58 | 23 | 8 | 7 | 2 | 137 |

takes place within two years of marriage, the chances appear to be about one in five that the family will have only one child while they appear to be about one in five also that they will have four or more children. If the first birth occurs after four years of marriage, the chances appear to be nine out of ten that there will be no more than two children, and one out of 20 that there will be four or more children.

In the families where attempt is made to space some but not all of the children, the chances appear to be one in 20 that there will be only one child, and one out of three that there will be four or more children when the first birth takes place within two years of marriage. When the first birth takes place after four years of marriage, the chances are one in four that there will be no more than one child and practically no chance that there will be as many as four children.

If the occurrence of the births in the three control situations are added together, when a first birth takes place within two years of marriage, the chances of having only one child in the family appears to be about one in ten, and of having four or more children about one in five. When the first birth does not take place until four or more years after marriage, then the chances of having only one child appears to be one in two and of having four or more children, one in 50.

In the families with no more than two children, 55 per cent of the first births took place in the first two years of marriage but in the families of four or more children 77 per cent of the first births took place in this interval. In the families with two or more children, 28 per cent of the first births occurred after four years of marriage while in the families of four or more children only two per cent of the births occurred after four years.

RESEARCH NOTES

Edited by Robin M. Williams, Jr.

Statement of Policy

For some time now the Board of Editors and the Editor of the Research Notes section have been considering ways by which these Notes might best further the total contribution of *Rural Sociology* to its readers. With a change in editorship of Research Notes, this seems a good time to inventory the problem and to state main lines of policy for the future. The Research Notes section (a) could include "news" notes on research reports, plans, techniques, hypotheses, and other ideas or developments of interest to research workers, or (b) it could be reserved for brief articles, quite like those which make up the body of the Journal except for length, or both types of items might be included.

It is the thought of your incoming editor that all *articles*, no matter how brief, should be published in the body of the Journal. Research Notes can then be used exclusively as a clearing house in which we will report the bare essentials of interesting research developments *before* projects have reached the usual publication stage. After all, many research workers widely scattered in space are continually inventing or modifying ideas and techniques which should be generally known to their colleagues long before the main substantive results of the research have gone through the ordinary publication mills (which, like those of the gods, do

grind slowly). At the present time, therefore, the presentation of such new plans and developments and results appears to be the most valuable function the Notes section can perform. Your Editor is anxious to receive suggestions and reactions to this proposal.

In the meantime, and in so far as this general orientation proves useful, this section will solicit items of the following types:

1. Brief statements of current and contemplated research projects of special interest.
2. New hypotheses, or innovations in study design and methodology.
3. Developments in research techniques for collecting or analyzing data.
4. Experience in research organization and administration, including the relation of research to "action."
5. Reports of preliminary research results which have immediate significance for other research enterprises.

There will always be, of course, other types of items which may be appropriate for inclusion here, if only to maintain the prerogative of editorial discretion.

As an important illustration of the "clearing house" function of this section, we are presenting below brief accounts of the current projects listed by Dr. Carl C. Taylor for the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life.

CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS OF DIVISION OF FARM POPULATION AND RURAL LIFE, BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE April 27, 1948

Farm Population Studies

- A. Annual estimates of the farm population, United States and Major Geographic Divisions.
- B. This is a continuing annual project in which mailed questionnaires

are sent to approximately 55,000 farmers. Returns are processed in this Division and estimates are developed of the total number of persons living on farms in January of each year, migration to and

from farms, and births and deaths in the farm population during the preceding year. Other material used in developing the estimates include benchmark data from the Censuses of Agriculture and Population and any results that are available from enumerative surveys. The estimates are published in a report containing some comment and interpretation each year, and revisions are made in the series when new benchmark data become available. These annual estimates of the farm population tie in with many lines of work in the Bureau, including farm income to provide the income parity indexes, farm labor as an indication of changes in farm labor supply, and other special studies on population and migration.

II. A. Quarterly estimates of the farm population by age and sex and other characteristics and related subjects. (Cooperative with Census Bureau)

B. This project includes development of more detailed estimates on the age-sex distribution, employment status, etc., of farm population and the number of households living on farms, from national enumerative surveys made periodically by the Bureau of the Census and at irregular intervals by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The results of this continuing project are issued cooperatively by the Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in the series "Census-BAE" at irregular intervals. Since this cooperative project was originated in 1944 the Census Bureau has done most of the survey work while the personnel of this Division have provided a large share of the planning, in-

terpreting, and drafting of reports of the surveys. This project is closely related to other types of population studies listed and provides the over-all United States level of total farm population to which the BAE series described in the preceding project are adjusted.

III. A. Experimental and developmental work on definition of farm population and delineation of the population dependent on agriculture. (Cooperative with Bureau of the Census)

B. Under this project aimed toward improving the definition of farm population to be used in our own series and in decennial Censuses, experimental questions are carried on survey schedules of both the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Bureau of the Census to obtain information for identifying the population dependent upon agriculture. The main objectives are not immediate development of statistics for publication but rather the development of a basis for recommending to the two Bureaus improvements in definition of farm population. Analysis is now under way of material obtained from the January Survey of Agriculture and on special questions carried by the Census Monthly Survey in December 1947 aimed at identifying the population dependent upon agriculture. It is hoped these will provide a basis for recommending classifications to be used in the 1950 Census of Population. There may be publication of some of the results but the primary purpose of the project is for administrative use. It is related to all of the farm population projects and to the farm income work of the Bureau.

IV. A. Analysis of differentials in fertility and family size in farm operator families classified according to farm size, income, tenure, etc. (1945 and 1947)

B. This project is focused on the analysis of the relationships between population characteristics, such as fertility and family size, and characteristics of the farms on which the population lives. Two main sources of data are used. The first includes unpublished data obtained on a sample basis in the 1945 Census of Agriculture, and the second includes tabulations from the January 1947 Survey of Agriculture. The expected end products will be one or more BAE publications presenting the significant relationships and their interpretations. The World War II period brought about a reversal of some of the normal relationships in certain areas, and analyses of these changes are exceedingly important for their bearing on future population projections. It is hoped that the April 1948 Survey of Agriculture will provide further data for this continuing project.

V. A. Occupational attachments of farm operators. (Cooperating with Farm Labor Section)

B. Data on the major occupation during the year and other characteristics of farm operators in the United States were secured as by-products from the surveys referred to in Project 1 of Farm Labor Studies. Tabulations from the survey of occupational attachments of farm operators in 1946 have been partly analyzed and will be further analyzed when similar results are available for the year 1947. After careful appraisal of these statistics as to their validity in reflecting a num-

ber of characteristics of part-time farmers, the statistics will probably be published in a mimeographed report of the Bureau with interpretation of the material. This project is closely related to farm labor and farm tenure and also to the projects in other parts of the Bureau on classification of farms.

VI. A. *Preparation of War Records Monograph on Farm Population during World War II and postwar projections.*

B. This project will involve a fairly comprehensive documentation of the changes in level and composition of the farm population brought about by the impact of World War II, set in a broader perspective of long-time changes in the farm population and prospective levels in the postwar period. It will draw upon all the relevant statistics that have been produced on farm population and migration in this Bureau and the Bureau of the Census, as well as on available local studies. A great deal of preliminary work has been done on this project which was proposed for completion at the end of this calendar year. Less than the amount of time needed was available to allot to this project and its completion is uncertain of accomplishment within this calendar year. It would provide a synthesis of the significant findings of the various farm population studies that have gone on in this Division and elsewhere during the past six years.

VII. A. Analysis of labor force participation rates of migrants from farms to congested areas.

B. This project involves rather elaborate statistical processes in standardization by indirect meth-

ods of data obtained by the "congested areas surveys" conducted in 1944. The statistical compilations are approximately completed, but publication of the estimates and the analyses have been delayed for lack of professional time to interpret the results and prepare a report. The results of this project may be issued as a separate report or may be incorporated into a report of one of the other projects. This project is closely related to the project on labor mobility listed in the Farm Labor Studies.

Farm Labor Studies

- I. A. Estimates and analysis of the hired farm working force in 1947—their numbers, composition, time worked during the year at farm and nonfarm work, and their distribution by annual wage income; analysis of changes in these characteristics since 1946.
- B. The data for this project were obtained for the BAE by the Census Bureau in a survey made in December 1947. Personnel of this Division planned the questions, reviewed the schedules and instructions to enumerators, and planned the tabulation to be made. After delivery of the machine tabulations, this Division will plan and compile the presentation tables, analyze and interpret the material and issue the results in a report similar to the reports issued in the last two years. (*The Hired Farm Working Force in 1945*, and *Farm and Nonfarm Wage Income of the Hired Farm Working Force in 1946*.) This project provides information of a nature obtainable only from workers themselves, and hence supplements the wage and employment data obtained in the Bureau's enumerative surveys from farmers.
- II. A. Study of farm wages by type of farm and type of work.
- B. This study involved analysis of the farm wage data from the three BAE national enumerative surveys conducted in 1945. The study was begun in 1946 and completed in the fall of 1947. The results were published as Report No. 19 in the series *Surveys of Wages and Wage Rates in Agriculture*. In dealing with wage differentials by type of farm and type of farm work this study supplemented other types of farm wage studies previously issued which dealt with the employment and wage structure in agriculture on a geographic basis rather than on a type of farm basis.
- III. A. Trends in tenure status of farm workers in the United States, 1880-1940.
- B. The estimates of tenure status of male farm workers were developed by combining data from past Censuses of Agriculture and Population. By methods similar to those used by John D. Black and R. H. Allen estimates have been prepared for each State covering the 60-year period, and analysis and interpretation of the tenure trends is being made. A report will be published shortly containing the estimates, interpretation of the trends, and exposition of the method. The light this project throws on functioning or lack of functioning of the traditional "tenure ladder" ties in closely with other studies on farm labor and with studies on the occupational composition of the farm population.
- IV. A. Analysis of recent trends in agricultural employment and wages.
- B. This project was started in May 1948 and is planned as a con-

tinuing project from which results will be published in the form of articles in the *Agricultural Situation* or special releases designed to interpret the current scene in agricultural employment and wage conditions. Attention will be focused on the movement of money and real wages in agriculture, and comparative trends and levels will be observed as between agricultural wages and wages in selected nonfarm occupations. Further elaborations of this study to deal with regional and area trends in agricultural employment and wages as well as inter-industry comparisons on an area basis will be made as the project continues, and the results will appear in more technical studies or bulletins.

V. A. Study of postwar developments in agricultural labor-management relations.

B. In this study secondary source materials from the Bureau of Labor Statistics and from private organizations will be utilized to observe developments pertaining to labor disputes in agriculture, and in unionization of agricultural and allied workers in processing industries. The results of this study will serve primarily as reference materials for answering information or requests, and secondarily for providing an insight into possible impacts on farm labor of this type of industrial-agricultural labor interrelationships.

VI. A. Study of labor mobility within agriculture and between agricultural and industrial jobs.

B. In this study two major types of analyses will be made:

1. Current information from secondary sources on migratory

agricultural workers will be collated with past information obtained from BAE surveys and other studies so as to provide a basis for interpreting the current situation with respect to the volume, composition, distribution, wage and working conditions of migratory farm workers.

2. Data on farm-nonfarm migration, on nonfarm employment of persons who also do agricultural work, and other types of information will be analyzed as part of a study of factors facilitating or impeding the temporary or permanent shifts of labor between agricultural and nonfarm occupations. The influences on labor mobility of general levels of industrial activity as well as of wage and income differentials will be examined through correlation and other types of analysis. (This project will be done in cooperation with the Farm Population Section.) This project will be a continuing one and no final report is scheduled for this fiscal year. The study will be planned and preliminary work will be undertaken in the remainder of the current fiscal year.

VII. A. Bibliography on problems of extension of social insurance legislation to farmers and farm laborers.

B. A comprehensive survey of literature dealing with the extension of social security to farmers and farm workers and unemployment compensation to farm laborers has been under way this fiscal year and is scheduled for publication as a bibliography in the next fiscal year. This project serves the needs of various proj-

ects in the Bureau. It contributes to the projects on Farm Labor by digesting of literature which should shed light on the increasingly important problem of measures that may afford to agricultural workers the benefits of greater economic security such as has been achieved by non-agricultural workers.

VIII. A. The agricultural labor force in California: Seasonal and cyclical between farm and nonfarm employment.

B. This study is being initiated this year in cooperation with the Institute of Industrial Relations of the University of California and is part of a larger project being conducted cooperatively between the Institute and the California State Employment Service. The over-all study will provide data on the composition of the labor force in California, employment by industry and occupation, geographical and occupational mobility and other aspects of the State's total labor force. The phase of the project in which the Division is concerned is centered on the seasonal hired farm workers who shift between farm and nonfarm jobs in the course of a year, as well as with the highly mobile migratory farm workers who move with the crop harvests in the different major agricultural areas of California.

The project as now planned calls for the securing of information on schedules by personal interview from a specially designed sample of harvest workers in special crops in selected areas of California. Other data available in the State's Agricultural Extension Service farm labor project and from the California State Employment Service will also be uti-

lized to supplement the field data.

The end product of this project will take the form of a report drafted under the general auspices of the Institute of Industrial Relations of the University of California and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Levels and Standards of Living

I. A. Analysis of trends in selected items of the rural levels and standards of living, United States, Major Geographic Divisions, and States.

B. The main purpose of this project is to present benchmark data in levels and standards of living, using data from the U. S. Census and any enumerative surveys that are available. The materials are published in a report with some comment and interpretation whenever new material becomes available. These periodic statistics on levels and standards of living tie in with farm income studies, parity price formulae, and many projects dealing with rural welfare.

II. A. Analysis of differences between rural and urban levels and standards of living, United States, Major Geographical Regions.

B. This project involves the statistical analysis of selected items in the level of living, taking into consideration rural and urban differences. The analysis is based primarily on a random sample of 372 counties on which about 70 items have been compared with rurality expressed in 5 percent class intervals. A report will be issued in three parts: Part I compares the level of living of rural and urban people for the United States (mimeographed January, 1948); Part II compares the same items on a regional basis; Part

III presents the trends in rural-urban differences and interprets them. This project is closely related to Projects 1 and 3, providing the basis for selecting additional significant items for the time series in levels of living and for refining the index of level of living for the United States.

III. A. Construction and analysis of farm operator family level of living indexes for counties of the United States, 1930.

B. This project is designed to construct county indexes of farm operator level of living for 1930 that will be comparable with those issued in 1947 by the Bureau for the years 1940 and 1945. Basic data are from the 1930 Census of Agriculture. The project includes computation of the indexes, analysis of trends since 1930, and preparation of a report containing the indexes with interpretation of the trends since 1930. This index is a continuing one in levels of living and will relate to all subsequent Censuses. It is the basic study in which the United States is delineated into areas based upon level of living.

A supplementary phase of this project is the construction of 1945 level of living indexes for 2,000 townships of Iowa from unpublished data made available by the Census Bureau. An analysis of the interrelationships of level of living and topography will take place in Iowa, in cooperation with the State College. A report analyzing these interrelations will be published.

An analysis of farm operator level of living in Washington State based upon the 1940 and 1945 indexes has been made and a report, *The Level of Living of Farm Operators in Washington*

Counties, 1940 and 1945, was issued in October, 1947.

Indexes for 1945 will be constructed for the towns of Connecticut and a report issued in cooperation with the University of Connecticut.

IV. A. Collection and analysis of data on farm housing, including the analysis of interrelationships between quality of housing and farm income.

B. This project involves collection and analysis of data on farm housing, including the analysis of interrelationships between quality of housing and farm income. A report will be prepared containing interpretation of the findings.

This project deals with an acute problem of current interest and concern in the fields of levels and standards of living.

V. A. Measurement of reading patterns and library usage in Maryland, 1948.

B. This project includes the taking of schedules in a selected county covering the use of the library facilities, the pattern of reading habits, etc. These schedules will be processed at the University of Maryland and a report will be published analyzing the statistical data. The project probes deeply into a limited area of levels and standards of living and will provide a basis for recommending changes in time series and index analysis.

VI. A. Experimental and developmental work on definition and classification of farms to provide a basis for estimating changes in number of farms by economic size, and characteristics of farm operator families by economic size group.

B. This project includes an analysis of Visual Analysis Cards con-

taining items from the Censuses of Agriculture and Housing. It also involves analyses of Census statistics, characteristics of farms classified by value of farm products or by class of farm. A report on classification of farms will be published in collaboration with the Bureau of the Census based on the Master Sample of Agriculture, 1945 Census of Agriculture. An article, "Technological Change and the Structure of American Agriculture," was published November, 1947, in the *Journal of Farm Economics*.

Experience in the enumerative surveys of agriculture will be analyzed and a report written commenting on the comparability with the 1945 Census of Agriculture. This phase of the project will be in cooperation with the Division of Special Farm Statistics. This project is aimed at improving the definition of farm to be used in our levels and standards of living work and in the decennial Census.

Rural Organization Studies

- I. A. Types of rural organization.
- B. Under this project, six (6) types of rural organizations are *identified, classified, described, and analyzed*.
 1. Types of rural organizations
 - a. Locality groups
 - Neighborhoods
 - Communities
 - Service Areas
 - b. Institutionalized organizations
 - Schools
 - Churches
 - Family
 - c. Other formally organized groups (includes all organizations having farmer participation).

d. Informal groupings

Visiting

Work

Kinship

e. Governmental units

The county

Minor civil divisions

f. Agencies (includes all public and private administrative units which generally originate outside the county, but operate within the county).

2. Geographic area covered: This is a nation-wide study which samples all major types of farming regions and includes the following counties: Imperial County, California; Franklin County, Washington; Wells County, North Dakota; Ellis County, Kansas; Seward County, Nebraska; Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma; Val Verde County, Texas; Bell County, Texas; La Fourche Parish, Louisiana; Dent County, Missouri; Hamilton County, Iowa; Goodhue County, Minnesota; Dallas County, Alabama; Union County, South Carolina; Frederick County, Maryland; Bradford County, Pennsylvania; Oneida County, New York; Litchfield County, Connecticut; Hampshire County, Massachusetts; Rabun County, Georgia.

3. Cooperation with land-grant colleges: Except in the case of four counties all studies are being completed with the cooperation of the rural sociologists in the land-grant colleges.

Expected end-product: Two types of reports will be issued: (1) Individual county reports (all except three to be issued by the cooperating land-grant colleges). The findings of these studies are currently being requested and presented to State Extension con-

ferences and graduate seminars.

(2) Over-all national analysis report to be issued by BAE.

- II. A. Determination of relationship and degree of conformity between the local units of government and the trade-centered communities in Goodhue County, Minnesota.

- B. (1) All local governmental units and the trade-centered communities will be mapped, and their interrelationships analyzed.

(2) A sample of farm families will be interviewed to (a) determine their patterns of participation in the local governmental units and the trade-centered communities, and (b) to determine which local units of organization are the most effective in securing participation and fostering group feeling of belonging.

End-product: A joint-authorship bulletin will be written for publication by the Minnesota Experiment Station.

- III. A. Rural organization and family participation in Maine.

- B. There are two phases to this study:

(1) 300 rural families covering three (3) selected towns—Turner (Androscoggin County), Addison (Washington County), and Easton (Aroostock County)—have been interviewed to determine the extent of farm and nonfarm participation in various organizations and Extension-sponsored activities and programs; and to examine meaningful leader-follower patterns and relationships.

(2) Six types of rural organizations (locality groups, institutionalized organizations, formally organized groups, informal groups, governmental units, and agencies) are being analyzed to determine how rural people are at present organized in these three towns.

This study was initiated at the request of the Maine Agricultural Extension Service and is being carried to completion by the Maine Experiment Station, the Maine Agricultural Extension Service, and the BAE. Family schedules were taken by the Maine Extension Service; BAE analyzed the types of rural organizations; coding was done by BAE; tabulation is being done by the Maine Experiment Station; and BAE and the Maine Agricultural Extension Service will jointly analyze the data and prepare final report.

Expected end-product: (1) There will be a publication which Maine will issue. (2) The Director of the Maine Extension Service will use the study to point up needed administrative and organizational adjustments within Extension.

- IV. A. Rural life in the United States by major type-farming areas.

- B. (1) The delineation of the eight major type-farming areas used in this project is based on the work of the Division of Farm Management. For each area numerous new statistical data have been compiled and analyzed dealing with population characteristics, major crops, gross and net farm income, farm tenure of farm operators, value per farm of land and buildings, rural level of living indexes, farm work done by farm operators, value of home consumed farm products, percentage of farms with tractors, etc.

(2) A national sample was drawn representative of the eight major areas. Study in these areas center around: (a) the ways rural people make a living and how their livelihood activities have been affected by the physical environ-

ment on the one hand and the backgrounds of the people on the other hand; (b) the annual, seasonal, weekly, and daily work rhythms of the farm people and the effects of these work rhythms upon their group activities; (c) the characteristic ways in which the rural people are organized, and the range of their contacts;

and (d) the outstanding attitudes and values of the people as related to their livelihood activities, work rhythms and organized life.

Expected end-product: Completion of a BAE publication under the caption of "Rural Life in the United States by Major Type-Farming Areas."

(
issu
refe
publ

1.

2.

3.

*4.

*5.

*6.

*7.

8.

9.

†

CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by Walter C. McKain, Jr.†

Publications Received

(* Indicates bulletins reviewed in this issue. Numbers appearing by each review refer to corresponding number in the list of publications.)

1. Adams, Thurston M. *Vermont Cooperatives—Their Business Activities*. Vermont Agric. Exp. Sta. Bul. 540. 27 pp. Burlington, Jan. 1948.
2. Alleger, Daniel E. and Hampson, Charles M. *Indicators of Florida Farm Prosperity*. Agric. Econ. Dept., Agric. Ext. Serv. University of Florida. 13 pp. Gainesville, April 1948.
3. American Association of Social Workers. *Community Organization—Its Nature and Setting*. 28 pp. New York, Oct. 1947. 25 cents.
- *4. Anderson, W. A. *A Study of the Values in Rural Living. Part I—A Scale for the Measurement of the Values of Rural Living*. Cornell University Agric. Exp. Sta. Memoir 277. 77 pp. Ithaca, Nov. 1947.
- *5. Beegle, J. Allan. *Differential Birth Rates in Michigan*. Michigan Agric. Exp. Sta. Spec. Bul. 346. 40 pp. East Lansing, Feb. 1948.
- *6. Bridgman, Helen. *Housing in the South*. Southern Regional Council. Vol. 3, No. 4. 20 pp. Atlanta, April 1948.
- *7. Carter, R. M. and Fenix, R. E. *Vermont's Agricultural College Graduates*. Vermont Agric. Exp. Sta. Bul. 541. 22 pp. Burlington, April 1948.
8. Crampton, C. Ward. *Live Long and Like It*. Public Affairs Committee, Inc. P. A. Pamphlet 139. 32 pp. New York, 1948. 20 cents.
9. Cushing, Hazel M. *Farm Marriage Preferences of College Women*. Washington Agric. Exp. Sta. Bul. 490. 27 pp. Pullman, June 1947.
- *10. Cushing, Hazel M. *Intelligence, Personality Adjustment, and Physical Status of Rural Children in Relation to Land Class*. Washington Agric. Exp. Sta. Bul. 489. 50 pp. Pullman, July 1947.
- *11. Davies, Vernon. *Demographic Factors Related to Health Needs in Mississippi*. Mississippi Commission on Hospital Care. 38 pp. Jackson, Mar. 1948.
12. Davies, Vernon and Belcher, John C. *Mississippi Life Tables by Sex, Race and Residence 1940*. Mississippi Commission on Hospital Care. 11 pp. Jackson, Mar. 1948.
13. Farm Foundation. *Better Health for Rural People*. 16 pp. Chicago, 1948.
14. Farrell, F. D. *Kansas Rural Institutions: IV. Fifty Years of Mutual Insurance*. Kansas Agric. Exp. Sta. Cir. 245. 32 pp. Manhattan, Jan. 1948.
- *15. Felton, Ralph A. *The Art of Church Cooperation*. Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church. 63 pp. New York, 1948. 20 cents.
16. Howes, John Baxter. *A National Rural Policy for the Methodist Church*. Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church. 15 pp. New York, 1948. 15 cents.
- *17. Hubbard, John P. and Others. *Health Services for the Rural Child*. American Medical Association. 58 pp. Chicago, 1948.
18. Institute of Inter-American Affairs. *Cooperative Health Programs of the U. S. A. and Latin America*. 21 pp. Washington, D. C., (no date given). 15 cents.

† Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

19. Julian, Correll M. *The Christian World View*. Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church. 16 pp. New York, 1948. 15 cents.
20. Keene, Anna K. *Let's Figure for a Home*. University of Florida, Col. of Education. 59 pp. Gainesville, 1947. 35 cents.
- *21. Lindstrom, David E. *The Methodist Church and the Rural Community*. Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church. 39 pp. New York, 1948. 15 cents.
- *22. Martin, Alexander C. *Botany and Our Social Economy*. National Wildlife Federation. 30 pp. Washington, D. C., 1948. 10 cents.
- *23. McKain, Walter C. and Flagg, Grace L. *Differences Between Rural and Urban Levels of Living. Part II. Regional Variations*. Bureau of Agric. Econ., U.S.D.A. 12 pp. Washington, D. C., Jan. 1948.
24. Mountin, Joseph W. and Flook, Evelyn. *Guide to Health Organization in the United States*. Federal Security Agency. U. S. Public Health Service. Misc. Pub. 35. 71 pp. Washington, D. C., 1947. 20 cents.
- *25. Mueller, E. W. *Christ for the Changing Countryside*. National Lutheran Council. 15 pp. Chicago, 1948. 25 cents.
26. National Planning Association. *The Agricultural Research and Marketing Act of 1946*. Spec. Rep. 19. 16 pp. Washington, D. C., April 1948. 25 cents.
27. National Planning Association. *Dare Farmers Risk Abundance?* N. P. A. Pamphlet 56. 54 p. Washington, D. C., Feb. 1947. 25 cents.
- *28. Niederfrank, E. J. *Main Types of County Extension Organization and Related Social Factors*. U. S. Dept. of Agric. Ext. Serv. Cir. 448. 30 pp. Washington, D. C., Mar. 1948.
29. Padgett, Elsie. *Indoor Climate*. University of Florida, Col. of Education. 40 pp. Gainesville, 1947. 35 cents.
- *30. Ramsey, Ralph J. *Successful Meetings for Farm People*. University of Kentucky, Agric. Ext. Div. Circ. 457. 12 pp. Lexington, April 1948.
- *31. Raper, Arthur. *Land Policy and Church Stability*. Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church. 35 pp. New York, 1948. 15 cents.
- *32. Roskelley, R. W. *The Rural Citizen and Medical Care*. Washington Agric. Exp. Sta. Bul. 495. 16 pp. Pullman, Dec. 1947.
33. Tengrand, P. and Others. *People and Culture Vivante*. McGill University and Universite Laval. 82 pp. Quebec (no date given).
34. Turner, Howard. *A Guide to Farm Tenure Data in Census Publications*. Bureau of Agric. Econ., U.S.D.A. 18 pp. Washington, D. C., May 1948.
35. U. S. Bureau of the Census. *Household Composition and Characteristics in 1947 for Urban and Rural Areas and Regions*. Series P-20. No. 11. 15 pp. Washington, D. C., Feb. 1948.
- *36. U. S. Congress. House of Representatives. Eightieth Congress, Second Session. *Long-Range Agricultural Policy*. 72 pp. Washington, D. C., 1948.
- *37. U. S. Dept of Agriculture. *How Families Use Their Incomes*. Misc. Pub. 653. 64 pp. Washington, D. C., 1948. 30 cents.
38. U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Bureau of Agric. Econ. *Farm Population Estimates, January 1948*. 8 pp. Washington, D. C., June 1948.
39. U. S. Dept. of State. *First Session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*. Paris, November 19-December 19, 1946. 157 pp. Washington, D. C., 1947.

40. Vermont Agric. Ext. Serv. *Part-Time Farming in New England*. New England Cir. 1. 30 pp. Burlington, Oct. 1947.
- *41. Walrath, Arthur J. and Gibson, W. L., Jr. *Farm Inheritance and Settlement of Estates*. Virginia Agric. Exp. Sta. and Bureau of Agric. Econ., U.S.D.A. Bul. 413. 32 pp. Blacksburg, Jan. 1948.
42. Whelpton, P. K. and Kiser, Clyde V. *Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility*. Milbank Memorial Fund. 55 pp. New York, April 1948.
- *43. Young, Louise A. *Health and Medical Care for the Family and Community*. University of Wisconsin Ext. Serv. Stencil Cir. 259. 12 pp. Madison, Sept. 1947.

Rural Church

[15, 21, 31] *The Art of Church Cooperation* by Ralph A. Felton is one of a series of publications reporting on the National Methodist Rural Life Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska in July, 1947. Following a discussion of the principles involved in church cooperation, the author describes types of cooperation within the denomination and between denominations. There are over six hundred Protestant city, county, and State councils of churches and eight national interdenominational agencies. These function particularly in the field of religious education, church extension, church architecture, relief and reconstruction in war devastated areas, and in missionary work at home and abroad. The forty-two organic church unions taking place between 1906 and 1948 have resulted in widespread cooperation. Local congregations which have been competing for many years come together very rapidly when their over-head organizations unite.

Another report contains the recommendations of the Commission of *The Methodist Church and the Rural Community*. Suggestions are given regarding the policies and programs of the Methodist Church in relation to business, labor, health, education, organizations, race, class, recreation, social welfare, government, rural-urban relations,

and leadership. The recommendations are intended to help the church become more alert to the changes taking place in rural communities and to adapt its ministry and program to the needs of the people.

A third report of special interest to rural people discusses *Land Policy and Church Stability*. This Commission recommended ways in which the church could help meet the following outstanding land policy problems: (1) Failure to recognize the stewardship responsibilities inherent in land ownership and use, (2) poor adjustment of population to the land, (3) antiquated land-lease laws and practices, (4) high land prices, (5) local customs and legal procedures which hinder the settlement and transfer of farm estates to heirs who would like to remain on the home place. Church organizations cooperating with public and private agencies operating in fields related to farm tenure and land use improvement can make a definite contribution toward the solution of these problems.

[25] The Lutheran Church has made a county analysis of the church and unchurched people in thirteen States where the Lutheran Church has her major strength, namely, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York. The number of church and unchurched are illustrated with charts and maps. Population data are based on the 1940 Census. The church population is based on the 1936 Religious Bodies Census. Data of home missions expenditures, submitted by general church bodies, are for 1947. This report on Nebraska emphasizes the need and opportunities, particularly in rural areas, for the ministry of the church.

Population

[5] Michigan's birth rate is sufficiently high to guarantee a growing population for the State as a whole. Some segments in the population, however, have higher birth rates than others. The rural-farm and rural-non-farm populations, especially in areas char-

acterized by self-sufficient agriculture, have high fertility ratios. "Michigan's rural population is not only replacing itself but also is producing a surplus of more than 30 percent; the urban population . . . is failing to replenish itself by more than 10 percent." The long-time trend in the birth rate is downward, despite a recent upswing.

Rural Health

[17] *Health Services for the Rural Child* contains some of the data collected in a nationwide study undertaken by the American Academy of Pediatrics, the United States Public Health Service, and the Children's Bureau. An intensive survey has been made of hospitals, private practice of physicians and dentists, community health agencies, and the pediatric training given by medical schools. At the national, state, and local levels, facts have been gathered "to provide the tools with which to improve child health, not only for the country as a whole but for every local community."

It is estimated that there are 13 million children living in isolated areas (37 percent of the children in the United States) where serious deficiencies exist in regard to physicians, dentists, and hospital facilities. The isolated counties in the Southeast contain almost half of these children (6 million). These counties show the lowest rates of general hospital beds, physicians and dentists of any of the five regions into which the States were divided for this survey.

[43] A circular entitled *Health and Medical Care for the Family and Community* has been issued by the Extension Service in Wisconsin. Data on hospital facilities, costs of medical care, prepayment plans, and health insurance are included. An outline of a community health program recommends the study of the health facilities, health problems, existing programs, costs and availability of medical care.

[11] The proposed hospital construction program in Mississippi may be more effectively planned if demographic information is available for each hospital district. This

bulletin presents population data for 17 hospital regions. The total population, population trends, place of residence, race, births, deaths, and infant mortality are among the topics covered.

[32] *The Rural Citizen and Medical Care* contains an analysis of the opinions of nearly 600 rural people in Washington concerning medical care. Two-thirds of the respondents favored the administration of medical care on a group basis. Those who wanted a change are a representative cross-section of the rural population. Only slight variations in the results were recorded when the sample was divided on the basis of income, size of farm, years of schooling and location. The philosophy that medical care should be considered a group responsibility was brought out when nearly four-fifths of the people replied that it "was just as logical to adopt tax measures to finance free medical care as to finance free education for every child."

Levels of Living

[4] *A Scale for the Measurement of the Values in Rural Living* has been developed at Cornell University. The Likert technique was used in the construction of the scale because (1) it appears to be a valid instrument for measuring opinions, (2) it develops reliable scales, (3) no judges are needed to rank the items, and (4) the internal consistency and split-half reliability of a Likert scale can be checked quickly when used with a new group.

In finding statements that express an advantage or disadvantage of the rural environment, 250 opinions were gathered and classified into ten phases of rural living, namely, the rural environment as a place for (1) healthful living, (2) doing enjoyable work through farming, (3) obtaining the necessary education for life, (4) earning a satisfactory living through farming, (5) enjoying wholesome recreation and leisure, (6) having aesthetically pleasing experiences, (7) carrying on a sociable life as a community member, (8) obtaining the necessary facilities for a good level of living,

- (9) developing wholesome family life, and
(10) the proper rearing of children.

The scales have been used with (1) 260 Cornell University students, (2) 1001 high school students from the city of Ithaca and the village of Trumansburg, and (3) 513 men and women 20 years of age or older who lived in rural Tompkins County. The text is supplemented with 31 tables giving data on the tests.

[37] A bulletin, *How Families Use Their Incomes*, prepared by the Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics, contains descriptive material (36 tables and 36 figures) on the economic position of urban and rural families in the United States. It shows how families spend their incomes for food, clothing, housing, medical care, and other needs and wants. Changes that have taken place in family spending in the past ten years and circumstances that make important differences in family spending patterns are shown.

[6] *Housing in the South* is a statistical summary of the housing conditions in thirteen southern States. Farm houses, nonfarm houses and Negro houses are treated in separate sections of the report and comparisons are made between States and between the South and the rest of the United States. The data are drawn from 1940 and 1947 Census publications.

[23] In Part I of this series of bulletins on the *Differences Between Rural and Urban Levels of Living* it was shown that rural people are disadvantaged, compared with urban people, in most elements of the level of living for which there are measures. Part II compares the level of living of farm and nonfarm people in the three major regions of the United States: the North, South and West. When the incomes, housing, medical services, educational facilities and achievement, local government expenditures, and other community services were analyzed, it was found that for most items (1) the South ranked below the North and the West and (2) the farm population ranked below the nonfarm population in each region.

Miscellaneous

[10] In Spokane and Skagit Counties in the State of Washington, a study of 3,192 rural children in grades four through eight was made in 1945 "in an attempt to throw some light upon the relationship of mental ability, personality adjustment, and certain health indices to economic factors as determined by economic land use classification." The schools cooperated in giving the Otis Quick-Scoring Mental Ability Test and the California Test of Personality and in supplying data from the health record cards. Land classifications were designated by specially prepared maps using five land classes, with Class One representing the highest income level. This classification was used for the 2,042 children on farms. There were also 893 children in towns, and 257 lived in open country but not on farms.

Although no definite relationship was found between intelligence and economic land use classification, the children living in large towns and on Land Class Two did somewhat better than the others. This may be due to better school facilities and more cultural advantages in the homes and communities of these children. Land Class Five children and those in the open country scored lowest on educational achievement.

Children living on the better land classes were superior in personality adjustment as shown by (1) sense of personal worth, (2) freedom from withdrawing tendencies, (3) freedom from nervous tendencies, (4) social standards, (5) freedom from anti-social tendencies, and (6) family relations. They did less well in social skills and boys on the better land scored lowest of all groups in self-reliance.

There were no consistent differences in the gross health indices in relation to land class. Greater differences might have been shown if clinical indices of health had been available. The study showed the need for a more thorough program of immunization against communicable diseases and better dental care for rural children.

[30] *Successful Meetings for Farm People* is the subject of a recent bulletin from

the University of Kentucky. The author points out that successful meetings require careful preparation and skillful conducting. His suggestions include the following: (1) Plan the meeting well ahead of time, (2) notify all members of the coming meeting, (3) prepare for the details of the meeting, (4) determine the order of activities for the meeting and follow it closely, and (5) close the meeting on time. The business, educational, and recreational activities should be planned to meet the needs of the group.

[36] Population growth, and expanding agricultural production, a rising level of living and changes in the level of employment, general price level, and foreign markets are among the topics considered in outlining a *Long-Range Agricultural Policy*.

[22] *Botany and Our Social Economy* is a plea for conservation. The sections entitled "Human Barriers" and "Educational Opportunity" indicate the social forces that impede conservation and suggest the kinds of social control that are necessary.

[41] A study of *Farm Inheritance and Settlement of Estates* in Montgomery County, Virginia was sponsored by the Southeast Land Tenure Committee. The area studied is largely within the Auburn Magisterial District where practically all the farms are operated by the owners. The principle objectives sought by farm owners in the transfer of their property are equality of distribution and security of the surviving spouse. Problems arise because of the lack of a clear understanding of the operation of the laws of descent and distribution and because many die without a will. Of the 106 farm owners who died between 1900 and 1946, only 39 had prepared a will. Forty percent of these wills were filed within six months of the owners' deaths. Information obtained

in 1947 from 45 land owners showed that only 11 had made wills although others planned to file them.

In making wills, the management of life estates left to widows and the subdivision of farms should be given careful attention. The authors think that: "A will, which is prepared at an early age with the functions of inheritance in mind and which is modified from time to time as family conditions and the amount of property change, would go a long way toward removing the problems in estate settlements. It would be a step forward in the continued improvement of agricultural production and the stability of rural communities."

[28] Nine major types of county extension organization are listed, diagramed, and discussed. Although no one kind of organization is equally adaptable to all local situations, at least one plan will fit each local extension unit. Some of the social factors affecting extension organization and programs are discussed and it is upon these that sound organizational principles may be formulated.

[7] *Vermont's Agricultural College Graduates* are found in nearly 100 different agricultural occupations, but less than a fifth are farm operators. About three-fifths of the graduates live in Vermont, most of them in the smaller villages and rural areas. Nearly three-fourths of the graduates believe that their college training prepared them well for their jobs, but many made specific recommendations for curriculum improvement. The report analyzes variations in income and occupational mobility, the relation between the graduate's occupation and his college major, and the attitudes of employers towards agricultural college graduates.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Otis D. Duncan

Rural Life in Argentina. By Carl C. Taylor.

Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948. Pp. xx + 464. \$6.00.

There has long been need for more emphasis on systematic studies from other countries to provide balance in the data and give a basis for generalizations applicable outside the United States.

In view of this need, *Rural Life in Argentina* is a welcome contribution to rural sociological literature. It is based on slightly more than one year's study and research in Argentina from March, 1942 to April, 1943, while Dr. Taylor was on a research assignment with the United States Department of State. He traveled 20,000 miles in Argentina, personally interviewed more than 120 families, and gathered data on population and rural life from various governmental agencies and other sources.

The book contains 17 chapters. An epilogue written in October, 1947 is added to point out a few of the preliminary results of the 1947 population census, the first of this kind since 1914 which, with previous censuses, gives the population data for the report. Other significant developments since the writing of the manuscript are also noted.

The first two chapters of the book give a panorama of 100 days of travel in all major farming areas in the country. A more analytical approach follows, including discussions on the people, the influences of immigration, Argentine farm people, the evolution of Argentine agriculture and rural life, the settling of the country, land tenure and distribution, and rural locality groups and communities. There are also accounts of levels of living, the farm home and family, colonization and resettlement programs, agricultural enlightenment and reform, farm organizations and farm publics, and, finally, the farmer's place in Argentine agriculture.

Of the wealth of information contained in this work, only a few generalizations can be made here. These are as follows:

1. Population settlement in Argentina came about by the population centers moving from the interior toward the coast, a reversal of the process in the United States.

2. In Argentina, 74 per cent of the population is urban, about half in cities of over 10,000; and 26 percent is rural. Practically all the farm people live on isolated farmsteads.

3. Despite the high degree of urbanization, Argentina is predominantly agricultural. Farming is its greatest economic enterprise, and landowners are its most influential group.

4. There is probably no other society wherein the inhabitants prize ownership of farm land more than in Argentina, yet 44 per cent of the farmers are tenants and there is a semi-monopoly of the land in large holdings. Most of the tenants are hired men trying to ascend to ownership, not dispossessed owners.

5. Argentine agriculture is of the extensive type and is highly regionalized. With some overlapping, it falls roughly into the following type-farming areas: The cattle belt, the sheep belt, the cereal belt, the cotton belt, the sugar cane belt, the vineyard belt, the fruit belt, and the yerbamate belt. These are all described and mapped by the author.

6. Both birth rates and death rates have fallen steadily in Argentina. The birth rate declined to 24.3 in 1938; the death rate to 12 in 1934-38.

7. Physical levels of living (food, clothing, housing, etc.) are approximately as high in rural as in urban areas, but cultural levels are much lower. The rural districts have little neighborhood and community life, a scarcity or inadequacy of social institutions, and a high degree of isolation.

8. Dr. Taylor feels that the opportunities for further industrialization in Argentina are not very great and that "its choice is

between that of an imminent decline of population—within the next 25 years—or the gradual shift to a more intensive system of agriculture." (P. 86.)

This is a pioneer work and one of its important results should be to stimulate Argentines to make rural life studies of their own country. The book will be useful in rural sociology courses and is a fundamental contribution to sociological literature on Latin America.

N. L. WHETTEN.

The University of Connecticut.

Farming and Democracy. By A. Whitley Griswold. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948. Pp. ix + 227. \$3.00.

The theme of this well documented and well reasoned essay is that "... family farming does not necessarily produce democracy. ... There is certainly no universal law that equates agrarianism and democracy or family farming and democracy. On the contrary, historical evidence to date seems to indicate that democracy has flourished most in the few countries, with the notable exception of Germany, that have attained a high degree of industrialization and urbanization." (86-87)

The author thinks it is time we examine one of our most hoary and widely accepted ideas; namely, the Jeffersonian doctrine that owner-occupied family farms constitute a soil from which democracy and all the virtues supposedly associated with it inevitably flourish. "The romantic appeal of the symbol contrasts strangely with the economic fortunes of the reality," (5) says the author; and then goes on to quote from the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy and other sources to show that "the years have not dealt kindly with the family farm." (5)

The contrasting conditions and historical evolution of democracy in the United States, Britain and France are described authoritatively as support for the main thesis, and the book ends with a discussion of "prospects" for the family farm. It is not to be saved, he thinks, by a "rain of subsidies on

the just and the unjust," or by "agrarian particularism" (214); but, neither is it doomed by technology. There are too many people in farming—family farming—living on or below the economic margin. Some of these persons and other productive resources ought to be "reallocated" to other pursuits. The aim should be not to preserve the family farm *per se*, but to get "full production, full employment— and full democracy." (214)

The author makes his point that the formula, agrarianism equals democracy, is not a universal one. Certainly the matrix of democracy—whatever that word means, and the author doesn't tell us—is much more complex. That democracy tends to arise and exist in primary groups (See C. H. Cooley) and that primary groups tend to prevail in agriculture is a thesis still susceptible to validation, as far as local units of society are concerned. That farmers have submitted to autocratic state governments is also true as the author demonstrates. Because the conditions and outlines of democracy are complicated and somewhat different from one culture to another, we may well consider further the implications of the family farm in American culture. This reviewer is not yet prepared to say that we may remain indifferent to the question as to whether we should preserve the family farm or allow unlimited concentration of property in land. Agrarianism is still a live organism and will condition agricultural policy in the United States for a long time to come.

LOWRY NELSON.

University of Minnesota.

The Hatfields and the McCoys. By Virgil Carrington Jones. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948. Pp. xiii + 293. \$3.75.

This careful study of the rise, course and decline of the famous Hatfield-McCoy feud on the border between Kentucky and West Virginia, all of which happened between 1860 and 1920, merits wide reading because of its historical interest and extended classroom use in courses in rural sociology, the

American family and the history of American civilization. The Hatfields (West Virginia) and the McCoys (Kentucky) were rival clans with no particular enmity until the Civil War, when the Hatfields joined the Confederacy and the McCoys the Union. From that time on differences between these great family systems widened and a course of murder and destruction set in, only broken up finally by the civilizing influences of railroads, coal mining, urbanization and industrial development. Fine people, who a generation or so later were to produce doctors, engineers, lawyers, governors and great public leaders, spent many years at as murderous a family feud as Western Society has seen possibly since the one of the Sichaïre-Ausregisil families so ably reported of the dark ages of the West by Gregory of Tours.

Now that we have a good history of this feud and others (see my *Family and Civilization*) a good deal of American history ought to be rewritten in order for us to understand ourselves. Further, many of our ballads about this and similar encounters, should be reoriented in terms of understanding. The only similar occurrence in history about which the author seems acquainted is that famous feud used by Shakespeare for the vehicle in his *Romeo and Juliet*. It should be pointed out that, beginning with Homer, all epic poems of Western society, and historical writings of the type such as Tacitus *Germania*, deal with this same kind of native Western family system. Understanding one involves understanding the others, and understanding all is essential to a grasp of the basic family system about which we now write so much. This book is also a must for those who want to understand the coal miners' strife. Congratulations to Mr. Jones for such a fine piece of work.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN.
Harvard University.

Families in Trouble. By Earl Lomon Koos with a preface by Robert S. Lynd. New York: King's Crown Press, 1946. Pp. xvi + 134. \$2.25.

The title of this book could have been *Low Income Families in Trouble*. It deals with urban families but the situations discussed would apply to families anywhere. The adequacy and organization of the families, a description of their troubles, and the effects of the troubles are excellently presented. The solution of the troubles does not receive much attention. Perhaps such problems are not solved.

The author points out that the stigma attached to needing help prevents full use of the services of many of the agencies that are available. The attitude of social workers and the conditions attached to applying for and receiving help deter the families in many instances. In the minds of the families private family agencies as well as public relief agencies are charities and social workers are "buttinskies."

The problem is not one of setting up institutions and waiting for people to come to them when in trouble, but of recognizing that in our involved opportunistic culture we are faced with the problem of recognizing troubles as concomitants of that culture, and then of proceeding on the basis that our institutionalized services must realistically approach those troubles in ways that can be acceptable to members of that culture. Social work publicity should be geared to acquainting the needy with a knowledge of what is available for their use rather than the potential giver with reasons for his giving.

The book contains many direct quotations and illustrations which make it easy and interesting reading.

MATTIE CAL MAXTED.
University of Arkansas.

With A Southern Accent. By Viola Goode Liddell. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1948. Pp. 261. \$3.00.

The author presents a record of her family extending over an epoch of economic and social change, from the post-war reconstruction of the eighteen eighties to the nineteen twenties. The place setting is central Alabama, where the author was born

and where she resides at present, but the import of the story is generally of the Deep South of cotton culture.

The father is the one clear hero of the account. He understood that his problems were those of the South generally. He saw the spread of boll weevil, the decline of cotton economy, and attempted to adjust through crop diversification, grass lands, and the introduction of pure breed cattle; and he realized the difficulty of the transition—the lack of markets, the problem of control of tick fever as the program ran counter to individualistic attitudes and ideas of free choice through local option. Perhaps the author's contribution is more substantial where she deals with changing customs in dress and manners, religious practices, superstitions, the self-centeredness of childhood and the perils of youth. She explains without apology or defense the attitude of the whites toward Negroes prevailing in that area and time.

The social scientist may gain vicarious experience and more intimate understanding of Southern culture and recent social history from the reading of this book. At least, he would find the book entertaining and witty. The increasing numbers of articles, reviews, and bibliographies dealing with fiction and biography carried in social science magazines evidence a trend toward the extended use of such materials for achieving a better appreciation of the "human element."

J. L. CHARLTON.

University of Arkansas.

Green Farm. By Ralph E. Blount. New York: The Exposition Press, 1947. \$2.00.

Here is a little book that will be a real pleasure to those people who like to know what farm life was like three-quarters of a century ago. The book, *Green Farm*, takes its name not from a farm that is green, but rather from two brothers named Green who went into east central Kansas a little less than a hundred years ago to find a good place to develop a ranch. The Greens did ranch at first, but wheat has been the main crop for well over half a century. The

author, a retired school teacher, worked on the farm as a boy with his uncles and now lives there. He makes the reader see the farm when he was a boy, and at present; not just the farm in general but the fields, rock walls, gates, the crevices in the high ledges by the river, the wooded draws leading across the farm, the songs of the birds, and the twilight.

ARTHUR RAPER.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Savagery to Civilization. By Norbert F. Dougherty. New York: The William-Frederick Press, 1947. Pp. 92. \$2.00. (Paper).

The author has held many responsible positions in the business world and is convinced that if we are to make further advances from *Savagery to Civilization* the business man must assume the role of leadership. The business leader is given credit for all of the advances which have been made in the last few centuries and doubt is expressed as to whether leaders in the fields of politics, religion, education and labor have made any contributions at all. He is convinced that the so-called common man is not competent to look after his own best interest.

The author seems convinced that the real basic cause of all man's troubles is the emphasis which religious leaders place on the future life. However in another chapter he blames all of our ills on over-population and suggests that rigid birth control is our only hope.

The reader will be startled by some of the statements in the book. Here are some samples: "Any official . . . who upholds the right to strike is more than a traitor." "In all history, one might surmise that the purpose of the educator has been to suppress education," "In my opinion, state governments have outlived their usefulness . . ." "Just so long as we have politicians with us who must depend upon popular elections . . . the world will get into greater and greater confusion."

C. MORTON HANNA.

The Louisville Presbyterian Seminary.

The Next Development in Man. By L. L. Whyte. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1948. Pp. xiii + 322. \$3.50.

A physicist steeped in Hegelian and Hellenic metaphysics writes a philosophy of history covering five stages in which he traces man's fall from innocence through the ages of conflict and moral dualisms toward the coming era of unitary man and society. Man fell from amoral innocence into dualistic sin with the birth of reason and sought salvation by creating ethical and intellectual absolutes, first under the illusion of monotheism and then through quantitative measurement of all things. But the unitary society of the future will be neither moral nor predominantly intellectual. Salvation will come through acceptance of and absorption in the developmental process.

If this is too vague (unitary thought is necessarily vague) perhaps it could be understood to mean that Unitary Man will accept the world as he finds it, but not cease to improve it.

The ages of individualism must be replaced by the coming age of community. The word "communism" is avoided, although the author thinks Russia is on the right track and ahead of all other nations in unitary thinking. She alone places social technology ahead of theological illusions, finance and competition. The U.S.A. has achieved world dominance as the result of its financial and technological superiority in the late war and can lead in the establishment of the new unitary order if it abandons its attempt at financial control of the world and gives freely of its resources to the other peoples in an effort to raise their level of life and thought. This imperialism (the word is not used) is the last great evidence of social sin. If it is not abandoned the white peoples will be replaced by the colored races. The future belongs to Asia anyway, after the U.S.A. sacrifices its monetary dominance to world community.

How does the author know all this? Mainly by intuition, which he regards as superior to reason. He picks out typical historical personalities to illustrate his interpretations and prophecies. Socrates was more normal

than Jesus, but both were conflict ridden. Nietzsche was a great prophet for those who could understand him. Goethe was the world's only perfectly unified personality.

The book is a mess, a bundle of contradictions and vague meanderings, interspersed with keen criticisms of past civilizations and much informal wisdom. Its prophecy of a coming community of peoples is gratifying, if somewhat ecstatic. However, all that is valid in this book has been better said elsewhere and less obscured by insufferable style and ignorance of social science vocabulary.

L. L. BERNARD.

Pennsylvania
State College.

Marriage for Moderns (Rev. Ed.) By Henry A. Bowman. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948. Pp. xi + 544. \$4.00.

The junior college course in Marriage is rightly concerned with preparation for living a well adjusted married life, and this book is admirably built for that purpose. It is definitely not designed for a course on the family as a historical and sociological institution. Each of its twenty-six chapters, epilogue, and glossary is retained in essentials. The questions for discussion of each chapter's content are aimed at the functional needs of college students who are in some stage of the experience leading to monogamy.

The book has in a very real way grown out of the experience of the Department of Marriage Education at Stephens College. The author's thesis, that marriage is for persons who are mature, leaves out of consideration any simple set of rules for blissful harmony and aims the discussion at problems and methods suitable to people capable of college pursuits.

This second edition reflects certain new insights developed in the intervening six years. Chapter VIII, Courtship and Engagement, incorporates eighteen additions or changes. One of these is the change from "sex repression" to "sexual restraint" (p. 245-246). The description of repression in

the glossary has this new sentence added: " 'Repression' is not synonymous with 'restraint', 'control'." The changes in the text are in harmony with this emphasis.

Distinct additions to this edition include a new section on the role of religion in marital adjustment, one on the Rh factor in heredity, and the Dickinson-Belskie birth series reproduced from the "Birth Atlas" published by the Maternity Center Association of New York City.

His discussion on the role of religion in marital adjustment is a well-balanced six-page statement that contains one weak paragraph (p. 336), setting numerical analysis over against qualitative evaluation with which he associates religion.

MERTON D. OYLER.

Berea College.

The Labor Force in the United States 1890-1960. By John D. Durand. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1948. Pp. xviii + 284. \$2.50.

This most recent addition to the growing and imposing series of Social Science Research Council monographs is of more general interest than its rather restricted title would seem to indicate. Not only specialists in such fields as population and labor economics, but also the statistician and the general student of sociology will find it relevant. The catholic appeal of Durand's investigation stems from the importance and timeliness of its subject—the labor force in the United States—on the one hand, and the detailed exposition of the research problems involved in handling census materials on the other hand.

After a compact description and analysis of past and future trends in the size and composition of the labor force, the author proceeds to detailed analysis of some of the demographic, economic, and cultural factors which affect it. Chapters on the war-time expansion and post-war contraction, future labor force projections, and the demographic aspects of labor force policy complete this well executed study.

Mr. Durand has an uncommonly healthy respect for the limitations of his data.

Further, he is concerned to caution the reader against a causal interpretation of his "factorial analyses." Particularly commendable is the explicit statement of assumptions and detailed descriptions of the statistical operations involved. Four methodological appendixes devoted to concise and straightforward descriptions of the calculation and use of "adjustment ratios," factorial analysis by the "method of multiple standardization with allocation of interactions," the methods of projecting trends, and the derivation of such measures as "the average number of years in the labor force" are cases in point. The author's statistical analysis of the effect of changing customs on the employment of women, which he conceptualizes as "the succession of generations," by a cohort method is simply but ingeniously done.

HAROLD W. PFAUTZ.

Bucknell University.

1948 Farmers Income Tax. By Samuel M. Monatt. Chicago and New York: Commerce Clearing House, Inc., 1948. Pp. 176. (8½"x11", paper); \$3.00.

Here is a manual especially prepared for everyone concerned with the federal income tax problems of the average farmer, as well as the unusual farmer, the individually-owned or partnership operated farm.

Briefly, beginning with Farm Schedule 1040F, each item, each line, is taken up, analyzed, explained, and its sound and proper treatment illustrated with representative facts and figures from a typical farm or farm activity, reproduced on actual segments of the form properly completed. The aim is to show exactly *what* to do for each item, and *how* and *why* it should be done. Nearly everything that could come up in "real-life" farm tax work is represented, its why's and wherefore's made understandably plain.

After explaining the use of Farm Schedule 1040F, the results from the schedule are carried through, and into, the Return Form 1040—together with the farmer's income from other sources. In the process his personal income tax problems, *off* or *on* the

farm, are thus carefully considered and discussed.

Advantages and disadvantages of reporting on cash basis, accrual basis, crop basis; other options and choices involved in Commodity Credit Loan treatment, development expenses, handling of draft, breeding, and dairy animals; livestock raisers' special inventory method, to mention just a few, are all helpfully treated. Also treated are "farm capital assets," their depreciation, methods and rates of depreciation, tax and effects of sale.

Particular attention is paid to the special problems involved in leased farms, farm cooperatives whether selling or buying type, "hedging" transactions, carry-forwards and carry-backs with special Refund Form 1045 and Refund Form 843; family labor accounting for farm products consumed on the farm or traded for farm or personal use; and in federal returns (other than income tax) to be filed by farmers; buying or selling a farm; fiscal year farm accounting, short period tax returns, changes from fiscal year to calendar year and vice versa.

Outstanding practical and helpful features, of this manual include: nearly two-score sound and proper ways to keep at "legal lows" income taxes on farm income itself and farmer's individual income; appraisal of tax values involved in sale of draft or breeding animals, operating farm as family partnership, tax benefit rule, sales v. trade-ins, standard deduction v. actual deduction, joint v. separate return, charitable contributions in farm property, etc. Detailed check lists of farm income and expenses; special "slants" on farmer-veterans out of service in 1947 and prior to 1947; farmer's federal tax calendar; and many other tax helps round out this dependable tax manual.

G. K. TERPENING.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

American Farmers' and Rural Organizations. By David Edgar Lindstrom. (Edited by Herbert McNee Hamlin).

Champaign, Ill.: The Garrand Press, 1948. Pp. xii + 457. \$4.75.

For first courses in college or advanced high school classes, as well as for workers needing a practical aid in dealing with dynamic elements of rural life, this book meets a critical need in excellent style. It is an up-to-date, comprehensive, and well documented coverage of information in its field, and yields an extensive range of useful principles.

The book has five main sections: (1) an overall view of the field of farmers' and rural organizations with definitions of terms; (2) historical backgrounds; (3) the membership, organization plans, and programs of present day organizations; (4) organizational processes and principles; and (5) national policies, rural values, and human welfare especially considered. Lindstrom ably develops the often overlooked point that:

Where group influences are brought to bear on an individual other reasons than desire for economic gain may influence his appraisal of the value of organizations. Other individual appeals may be for protection, security, pride, power, comfort, pleasure, ideals, affection; add to these such social ideals as desire for new experience, response, recognition or for cooperation, and the importance of working in groups comes into prominence. (Pp. 370-373.)

Chapter XXII is a discussion of essential principles of organization, which are summarized (p. 406) as follows:

An understanding of the essential principles for organization is important to the success of any group: (1) the people concerned must feel the organization and be willing to contribute something to it; (2) the aims and purposes of the organization should be clearly outlined; (3) the officer and committee setup should be adequate; (4) the programs should be planned to carry out the aims and purposes of the organization; (5) the projects and activities should grow out of the needs and desires of the members and be carried to a successful conclusion; (6) the people enrolled as members should feel themselves a part of the organization, not only by receiving benefits, but also by being given some responsibility

in the work of the organization; (7) the organization should endeavor to cooperate with other groups and organizations working on common or similar problems; and (8) the organization should be made adaptable to changing conditions or cease operation when its function is performed.

The author restricts the uses of the book by giving only limited information on specific program procedures. For example, extension workers interested in the most up-to-date guides for planning county programs will turn to other sources—chiefly reports of recent workshops and mimeographed guides used in individual states. The book presents Illinois patterns mainly, but is not unduly weighted in this respect considering the volume of research done on the subject in that state. As related to other countries, the author overlooks the Rural Woman's Movement, and fails to mention the Danish Agricultural Societies or organization-government relationships in other countries for carrying on work comparable to that of our Cooperative Agricultural Extension System.

W. H. STACY.

Iowa State College.

Russia in Flux. By Sir John Maynard. Edited and Abridged by S. Haden Guest, from "Russia in Flux" and "The Russian Peasant and Other Studies." New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. Pp. xviii + 564. \$6.50.

This book represents a minute analysis of the social currents that set the stage for the October Revolution and of the structure of the Soviet socialist society which was built, to a remarkable degree by trial and error, in the period between the two World Wars. The author considers the Russian peasant the principal determinant of historical development ("it was the peasants and their grievances that made all the Russian revolutions," p. 10) and dedicates almost one half of his study to an analysis of the economic and political factors bearing directly or indirectly on the transformation of feudal Russia to the land of rural collectivism. His illuminating scrutiny of

the collective farm (the *kolkhoz*), containing numerous generalizations of sociological import, is unequalled in the English literature on the subject.

The author's main thesis is that the Soviet society can be explained only in part in terms of a Marxian blueprint, and that its basic features are derived from a new application of the traditional Russian institutions. The utter subordination of the church to the state, the unqualified authoritarianism, the organization of fear in the form of systematic terror by the government, rural collectivism, and "congregationalist" emphasis in social philosophy are the guiding principles of both the old and the new regimes. Even the "Party" is not new; it is a lay church and its members a lay priesthood, fighting heretics and supplying the state with officials.

However, he finds that despite its negation of the fundamental rights of political democracy, its "terrifying efficiency" in suppressing the dissemination of truth, and its censorship of scientific inquiry and artistic pursuits, the Soviet system is more beneficial to the Russian people than was the Tsarist regime. Soviet society has given the peasant "the advantages of *grande culture* without the incubus of landlordism, and has avoided the burden of peasant indebtedness, ordinarily so grave a feature of all peasant societies." (pp. 409-410.) The woman, traditionally an inferior member of the patriarchal society, has "gained greatly in freedom and human dignity." (p. 409) The industrial worker has more economic security than either his Tsarist predecessor or his Western European counterpart. Hundreds of non-Russian ethnical groups, most of which were deprived of many elementary rights during the old regime, have been granted a great deal of freedom for cultural self-expression. However, the author is careful to note that despite the genuine accomplishments of the Soviet policy for nationalities it still is not the "miracle of completed performance which the propagandist would have us believe." (p. 473) Regional nationalism is systematically channeled into an indisputable subordination to

what is identified as "Soviet patriotism."

To sociologists interested in social planning, the place of the individual in socialist society, social mobility, rural socialism, socialist "class structure," and related topics this work offers a great treasure of pertinent and reliable information. The book is based on authoritative Russian sources, serious foreign studies, and first-hand observations made in the 1890's and in the 1930's.

A. VUCINICH.

Orangeburg, New York.

Caste, Class, and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics. By Oliver Cromwell Cox. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1948. Pp. xxxviii + 624. \$7.50.

This book offers a provocative analysis of the problem of bourgeoisie-proletarian relationships in contemporary society from the viewpoint of one who seems convinced that the Marxian class-struggle conception provides the basic key to the power relationships and power struggle of our times. In this framework the author also views the many aspects and facets of the race problem.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I is devoted to the study of the fundamental characteristics of a caste system. The data are taken almost entirely from already published materials on the Hindu caste system in India. The intimate relationships between such factors as religion, occupation, and the role of women to the caste structure are explored in some detail. Cox argues that the origin of the class system may be found in the success of the Brahmins in their struggle with the Kshatriyas for hegemony in the social order. The first portion of this book provides a much needed critical examination and integration of the vast body of materials on caste in Hindu India.

Part II is concerned with the growth of social classes out of the estate order of feudal Europe. "Thus, this was the supreme organizational triumph of capitalism: the shattering of the social estates, and the ascendance of individualism" (p. 147). He

differentiates a social class and a caste essentially on the basis that "... with reference to the social order, the caste is a status-bearing entity, while the social class is a *conceptual* stratum of status-bearing entities." Cox argues that the loosening of the social order with the advent of capitalism was followed by a new kind of social organization based on the using and viewing of the laboring population as a factor of production to be exploited. Thus, capitalism is innately opposed to human welfare and develops an ideology to support its hedonism backed by force when necessary. Political classes, antagonistic conflict groups, then emerge to maintain and to destroy the existent social order. This is the basis of the class struggle and the presentation and the outcome of this struggle are highly Marxism in flavor (but admittedly so).

Part III views the problem of race relations in the perspective of capitalism as the etiological factor. He attempts to show the techniques through which the ruling white group in the South maintains its power and creates conflict situations to support the ideology of the innate inferiority of the Negro. Most of the presentation is tenable, but the whole problem of race relations is thrown into a conflict nexus which precludes other frames of reference that may offer incisive insights to the problem.

Cox soundly criticizes the work of Warner and his students as being superficial and fires his loaded guns at "the mysticism" of Myrdal, and the naïveté of Park and Benedict. His approach is sort of a Sorokinism in reverse. After his analysis and his definitions, he proceeds to show the "inadequacies" and "fallacies" of others who do not use his concepts or adhere to his unilateralism.

This will undoubtedly be a highly controversial book. It is an admixture of first rate analysis and sophisticated unilateralism in the deep tinge of Marxism that underlies Cox's approach to race relations. If he only realized that even those who disagree with us may have some contribution to make, he would have a much more acceptable work. The serious student of social

stratification and race relations, however, in this reviewer's judgment should rate this work a "must" book.

NEAL GROSS.

Iowa State College.

The Place of Psychology in an Ideal University. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947. Pp. 42. \$1.50.

This report was prepared by a commission of twelve distinguished authorities in psychology and related fields under the chairmanship of Dr. Alan Gregg, Director for the Medical Sciences, Rockefeller Foundation, appointed by President Conant, to advise on the future of psychology at Harvard. The report emphasizes the importance of the nature of the individual exposed to the educational process in contrast with so many recent books and reports that emphasize the nature and purpose of the learning process.

Although the science which comprises the interaction of organism and stimuli cannot consistently disregard either organism or environment, the Commission maintains it cannot lay claim to the whole field of human behavior and its derivatives. In other words, such areas of conceptualized institutional behavior as economics, political science, history, or parts of sociology are not, as such, part of the central subject of psychology. Sociology and psychology are different fields although related in the study of group behavior. The report concludes that undergraduate and graduate instruction in psychology should serve these four purposes: 1) As part of a general college education, 2) as a subordinate but valuable adjunct in preparation for other fields (e.g., education, law, medicine, business administration, the ministry, engineering, etc.), 3) as a subject of academic research and teaching, and 4) as a field of applied professional activity—psychotechnology, personnel work, educational and vocational guidance, clinical psychology, etc. It recommends an introductory course of two semesters, but does not favor placing psychology among required courses. It feels an improvement of the teaching of psychology

would encourage some of the professional schools such as medicine to require psychology for entrance, just as mathematics is required for entrance to schools of engineering and chemistry is required for entrance to medical schools. In turn, such action could hardly fail to aid departments of psychology in improving their teaching.

ROLAND R. RENNE.

Montana State College.

Integration of the Humanities and the Social Sciences: A Symposium. Southern Methodist University Studies No. 4. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1948. Pp. vii + 92. Paper \$1.50; Cloth \$2.00.

Since the core of both the humanities and the social sciences is an interest in humanity, it appears that the chasm between the fields could be narrowed or the two integrated for the mutual advantage of both. But in our culture the student of the humanities tends to dwell on the creation of past generations, while the social scientist is becoming more and more of a specialist. Students in either field tend to be oblivious to all else, although each should be able to make very valuable supplemental contributions to the other.

With the foregoing thoughts in mind sixty educators from many sections of this nation met at Southern Methodist University in the fall of 1947 to discuss ways in which the two fields of knowledge might be integrated. The papers presented at the meeting and the gist of the ensuing discussions comprise this volume. In addition to the theoretical implications resulting from such integration, the monograph brings out specifically the problems confronting those contemplating curriculum revision in universities. The final consensus developed at the meeting was that integration of the fields is both possible and desirable and the solution may most readily be approached by offering general university courses which cut across departmental lines.

JOHN C. BELCHER.

University of Mississippi.

Community Planning for Peacetime Living.

Report of the 1945 Stanford Workshop on Community Leadership. Edited by Louis Wirth, Ernest R. Hilgard, and I. James Quillen. California: Stanford University Press, 1946. Pp. vii + 177. Paper \$1.50.

"The purpose of the Workshop (held August 10-19, 1945) was to assist volunteer lay leaders to prepare themselves more effectively to meet their responsibilities for community service and to consult together concerning policies of work and plans of action for their local communities."

Rather than a lay leaders' workshop, it was obviously a top level conference which gave opportunity for representatives of the various participating groups to get a preview of postwar needs and programs, and to explore possibilities of community cooperation in functional areas and localities where common needs call for cooperation instead of competition among overlapping specialized service agencies.

The report is divided into three major parts:

1. A sociologist looks at the community.
2. California leaders analyze the community's problems.
3. Special interest groups report their discussions and findings

The first part is a summary of eight lectures by Professor Wirth which set the stage for the conference. He said, "Not only must we heal the wounds of war; we must also find an adequate means of satisfying the new appetites generated during the war." This can best be accomplished by leaders working together on a community basis and in a democratic manner. "Our incentive lies in the great gap between what we have and what we might have."

We must provide for mass participation and lay leadership based upon local responsibility. Effective planning cannot be left to the experts alone. It requires the participation of the citizenry who ultimately will be affected and pay the bill. "We must lay the foundation in our communities for communion among men—a communion which lowers the barriers of caste, creed, and

station. We must learn to stake out goals that are neither too puny nor too Utopian. We must develop the instrumentation by which a mass democracy can function."

As one reads Part II of the report one can sense an attempt, not always successful, to break through the smugness of organizational and agency representatives. We must plan for youth. Farm problems are essentially the same kind as city problems. Schools should help in all phases of planning, but there is no plan for the development of the schools. Veterans should be taken care of locally. In intercultural relations the question is, have we done what we can; little thought is given to what might be done. Needed integration and cooperation among various agencies and organizations is mentioned and thereafter ignored.

Part III is characterized by a wealth of suggestions concerning problems to be met and lists of things to be done. However, there is a minimum of suggestions as to how to proceed. In the process of planning, participation by the people is largely forgotten. There appears to be a very real question whether a central planning agency can be established which will fire the imagination and enlist the support of the people strongly enough to curb the interest groups and plan for the community as a whole.

RAY E. WAKELEY.

Iowa State College.

General Education in the Negro College.

By Irving A. Derbigny. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1947. Pp. ix + 255. \$3.00.

This little volume appraises the programs of general education in Negro colleges from data collected in a survey of twenty Negro institutions. Almost every type of college having such a program is included in the sample; an adequate cross-sectional view of the programs of general education as practiced in these institutions is thus secured from the data. The findings of the study together with the author's evaluation are presented against the background of the changing forces of American life which pro-

vided the matrix out of which general education programs on a widespread basis developed. Included, also, in the background material is a review of the various objectives of these programs and types of curricula devised for their attainment. These materials are taken from studies of general education programs in white institutions, for, as the author points out, the present study represents the first investigation of such programs in Negro institutions.

The general tenor of the author's assessment is sharply critical in nature. He finds that there are various programs of general education in operation in Negro institutions; that the purposes of such programs are not clearly stated and, usually, these stated purposes bear little relationship to the offerings devised for their attainment; that there is a notable lack of unity among the objectives claimed for specific offerings, the branches of the survey courses, for example; that small provision is made for intimate understanding of the backgrounds of students and little recognition given to individual differences; that guidance programs connected with the programs are limited and that, in general, the evaluations of the degree of effectiveness are inadequate. A few notable exceptions among the colleges, at least on some of the charges, are noted.

It is clear that the author analyzes his findings within the framework of his special predilections regarding the form which general education for this minority should take. This is done by frequent interpolations rather than through a systematic exposition of the author's viewpoint on the subject. Since, in the judgment of the reviewer, frequent biases are revealed, it would have been better if the author had given a more explicit and systematic account of his views. Moreover, the manner of presentation tends to conceal certain contradictions in the author's philosophy. In addition, it must be noted that the volume is not well edited, many mistakes having gone unnoticed.

Many of the author's criticisms are valid and his suggestions for improvement should

be helpful to workers in this area of education. The volume should serve the purpose of stimulating persons responsible for the development of such programs to further inquiries and critical examination.

G. FRANKLIN EDWARDS.

Howard University.

Situational Analysis—An Observational Approach to Introductory Sociology.
By Lowell Juilliard Carr. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948. Pp. xiii + 178. \$2.50.

According to Professor Carr, "In every observational science except sociology the methodology of observation is the core of the beginning course." *Situational Analysis* was written to "break a tradition" by making a conformist out of introductory sociology in this respect. A slim volume, it is designed to be used either as a guide book for a course emphasizing observation and note book reporting, or as a supplement to one of eight standard texts. Following every chapter there are supplementary readings and textbook references, and, except for the first chapter, instructions for the notebook assignment. Name and subject indexes and a selected bibliography are provided.

Professor Carr deserves congratulations for being willing to depart from the conventional pattern of the introductory source in attempting to make the field of sociology more meaningful to introductory students. His approach certainly seems worth experimenting with. In this reviewer's judgment, his emphasis on the development of an independent and critical attitude toward the content of various media influencing public opinion is likely to be especially helpful. But his approach might well place more emphasis on elementary statistical methodology if the "methodology of observation" homologue to other sciences is to be adequately carried out.

EDGAR A. SCHULER.

Michigan State College.

History of Pennsylvania. Second Edition.
By Wayland F. Dunaway. New York:

Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948. Pp. xiii + 724. \$6.65.

This is a traditional history of Pennsylvania from its last aboriginal period as of about 1600 through World War II. The first half deals with temporal events to 1790 and the second half since then. Each half of the political-historical narrative is followed by summary chapters which deal with population, economics, transportation, social life, religion, education and the development of the arts and sciences. Excellent bibliographies at the end of each chapter make the work authoritative. However, for some reason, Tom Paine never gets mentioned.

The importance of the work to the sociologist comes from the great influence of Pennsylvania since its first founding by William Penn upon the formation of American patterns of life. In the East settled the Quakers, in the middle the Pennsylvania Dutch and on the border the Scotch-Irish, those embryonic shirt-sleeve Americans who plunged through the Appalachian-Ozarks region or down the Ohio to create that middle culture so important until after the Civil War. As such it should be scanned carefully, particularly its first half, by those who really seek to understand the American scene.

From the critical point of view, it should be suggested that the work is too much "Pennsylvania" and too little "America," and too much traditional history with too little of a grasp of the essential themes of American social life which pass everywhere through its pages. The first half of the work repeatedly deals with the modified feudal system as it was transplanted to America. Yet one reads almost the whole work before he gets even a faint idea of what is meant by "proprietary colony" or a quit-rent system of land holdings. We constantly see the Scotch-Irish and other elements poised at the entrance to the Cumberland region and the head waters of the Ohio, yet we never are told specifically why, as soon as these people move over the hills or down the valley, Presbyterianism is going to change to camp meeting religion or how their do-

mestic family system is going to revert to the "feudin' and fightin'" of the primitive blood vengeance type.

Nevertheless, the work is a contribution to our field in that it, along with other monographic studies of the early local histories of our country, gives us a steadily increasing documentation of the formative sociological facts in American life. This will be appreciated more as the genetic point of view comes to the forefront in our science.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN.

Harvard University.

Brensham Village. By John Moore. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1948. Pp. xi + 239. \$2.75.

A work of fiction of this type is difficult to evaluate, although as light entertainment it surely has some justification for existence. Perhaps one steeped in the lore of the English countryside would find the book accurate in description, subtle to an astounding degree, and replete with situations of the most humorous type. On the other hand such a qualified critic might judge the work to be merely a succession of skillfully turned phrases about a way of life of which the author had little or no intimate knowledge. Certainly the rural sociologist can find more trustworthy sources for facts about rural life in England.

The book consists of seven parts with titles of "The Hill," "The Cricket Team," "The Darts Players," "The Frost," "The Groupers," "The Syndicate," and "The Bomb," respectively. In the first of these are presented thumb-nail sketches of the village, its setting, and the idiosyncrasies of its inhabitants, from the Mad Lord whose crusading, communistic daughter set great value upon the pickled remnants of an ancestor who had participated in the Crusades, to the low caste Fitchers and Gormleys, always feudin' 'n fightin', always present and sure to enliven any social gathering.

Parts II and III contain more sketches of village folk, the first treating their out-of-doors' activities and the second depicting

the intimacies of tavern life, with barely enough narrative to hold the sections together. The extreme dependence of the farmers and villagers upon the vagaries of the seasons is the theme of Part IV, and Part V is given over to description of the impact of the Oxford movement upon the village. In many ways this is the most humorous portion of the account. The villain of the story is the Syndicate, the company which seizes every opportunity to gobble up the land and deprives the villagers of the age-old privileges they have enjoyed.

The effects of World War II are traced in the final part. But even the bomb did little to shake Brensham from its customary groove.

T. LYNN SMITH.

Vanderbilt University.

The Direct Primary in Idaho. By Boyd A. Martin. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1947. Pp. ix + 149. \$3.25.

This book represents a compact historical and comparative study of the operation of the direct primary in a state which, in the last three decades, has adopted, repealed, and readopted a primary law. The major portion of the volume consists of a careful reporting of the development of the concept in American politics generally, as well as the history of its particular operation in Idaho. The most valuable section embodies an attempt empirically to evaluate the results of its operation in terms of (1) a poll of "expert" opinion and (2) tables and graphs showing the comparative numbers of candidates, minority and majority nominations, geographical distribution of offices, and cost to candidates under the direct primary and convention methods of nomination.

Dr. Martin is well aware of the limitations of his data and makes them explicit where he draws inferences. He seems, however, unfamiliar with standard polling procedures and this, together with the absence of base figures for reported percentages, seriously detracts from this portion of the research. The author concludes that the

direct primary law has, in general, been a success and a weapon in the hands of the voters despite certain defects. The final chapter lists a number of recommendations aimed at obviating the discovered deficiencies.

HAROLD W. PFAUTZ.

Bucknell University.

Discovering Ourselves. Second Edition. By Edward A. Strecker and Kenneth E. Appel in collaboration with John W. Appel. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. Pp. xix + 434. \$3.50.

As the title suggests, this is a non-technical introduction to the field of mental hygiene. First published in 1931, this book has been widely used in beginning courses as well as having found a place in the libraries of vocational counselors, clergymen, and others whose occupations require them to know something about mental hygiene in advising on personal problems. The reviewer notes that his copy is from the eighth reprinting of the second edition, the book having been revised in 1943. This number of reprintings seems to assure that the popularity of the book has not been declining.

The second edition has been changed by the addition of three new chapters dealing with the emotions, fear and anger. These were contributed by John W. Appel, a colleague of the two major authors in the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Pennsylvania. Written in the same general style as the other chapters, the continuity of the book has not been disturbed by the introduction of this new material. Another major change is in the addition of a 39 page appendix of questions on the individual chapters. Of these questions the authors say "In searching for answers, one will experience practical exercises in psychiatric therapy and promote one's own mental health." This tone of reassurance is found throughout the book and constitutes one of its merits for the troubled reader.

It is regrettable that the first eight chapters dealing with "Conceptions of Modern Psychology" were not thoroughly revised

or deleted in the second edition. In chapter three, one still finds William McDougall's classification of instincts. In chapter seven the authors observe that "There are three great complexes which chiefly dominate the thinking and determine the action of the majority of adults. They are the ego complex, the sex complex, and the herd complex. The instincts and emotions may be grouped under these complexes." Following this is a list of instincts including those of acquisition, construction, play, gregariousness, suggestion-imitation, and appeal. The authors note that in this grouping and terminology they were guided by the conceptions of A. G. Tansley.

The last thirteen chapters of the book deal with the major mechanisms of behavior including chapters on such concepts as rationalization, dissociation, identification, and sublimation. Drawing upon their extensive experience as psychiatrists, the authors handle these mechanisms with skill. For the layman who wants a book on mental hygiene for greater self-understanding, these chapters can be recommended.

RAYMOND F. SLETTÖ.

The Ohio State University.

Graduate Work in the South. By Mary Bynum Pierson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947. Pp. xii + 265. \$4.00.

This book gives a history of graduate work in the South, catalogues some of the obvious influences in its development, and describes present practices in the administration of such work. This is done in quite detailed fashion, on some points institution by institution. The descriptive material is supported by statistical tables. Those in the appendix alone take up one-sixth of the book. Progress and achievements are measured, says the author, "by the quantitative and qualitative standards for degrees." In the nature of the case the quantitative gets far more attention.

There is little effort at interpretation or evaluation until the final chapter on Progress and Perspectives, and even here much of the material is presented in quotations

from committees and authorities and is of rather conventional content, reminiscent of countless discussions at faculty meetings on requirements for the M. A. and Ph. D. degrees.

Sociological factors are all but totally absent in the discussions. The influences noted in the development of graduate degrees are wholly educational and stated in terms of various reports, of foundation grants and the like. There is no discussion of the functions to be performed by graduate work nor how these are changing in certain areas nor of the experimentation with new degrees, as for instance the Doctor of Social Work, as new professions arise.

EDMUND DES. BRUNNER.

Teachers College, Columbia University.

War Without End. By Powell Spring. Winter Park, Florida: The Orange Press, Inc., 1947. Pp. ix + 306. \$2.50.

Peace Through Principle. By Powell Spring. Winter Park, Florida: The Orange Press, Inc., 1947. Pp. viii + 349. \$2.50.

The first of these volumes of essays seeks to describe the actual results of our occupation of Germany. As an associate of the University of Human Science at Dornach, Switzerland, and long a resident of Europe, the author writes from first hand experience, and endeavors to awaken American public opinion from its "colossal degree of indifference and lethargy" by weighing our policies in Germany in the light of certain basic principles of democracy. He contends that our so-called de-Nazification has really become in practice a policy of re-Nazification, and that the "unity of Europe has been destroyed by the virtual imprisonment of the German people within their borders" in "the first nation-wide concentration camp in the history of the human race." Though we defeated Hitler in battle, we have adopted his principles and practices in our occupation of Germany, using "war-like measures in times of peace." We have isolated the German people from cultural intercourse with the rest of the West and have adopted economic policies which mean the death of the German economy. Especially is our theory

of collective guilt incompatible with the democratic ideal of respect for the individual. Democracy cannot be achieved by totalitarian means.

In *Peace Through Principle*, the author carries his argument further, and discusses some of the fundamental principles upon which lasting peace must be established. The basic principles have been outlined in the apparently forgotten Atlantic Charter. He indicates some of the chief obstacles to peace as: (1) the non-democratic principle of the veto exercised by the Big Four in the United Nations Organization; (2) the habit of seeing evil as a national trait; (3) the nationalization of news, and (4) heavier reparations than a nation can pay and keep a healthy economy. Great stress is placed upon the contribution which cultural exchange can make to an enduring peace, and the author contends that the re-establishment of international travel is a prerequisite to world understanding, and he sees little hope of peace until a genuine peace conference including all nations on a democratic basis is held. One vital truth emphasized again and again is that the unity of nations lies above rather than between them, "only through a common loyalty to the great fundamentals of democracy can nations find unity," and only through free cultural interchange between peoples can this loyalty be achieved.

EUGENE SMATHERS.

Big Lick, Tenn.

A Reader in General Anthropology. By Carleton S. Coon. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1948. Pp. x + 624. \$3.90.

Professor Coon says his purpose in presenting this book is to select eye witness accounts from the abundant studies of cultures as wholes, some of them not easy to obtain, and to organize them on seven levels each progressively more complex than all which precede it. Level Zero is Life in the Trees, Carpenter's elaborate study of Gibbon society, and Level VI is One Complex Political Institution, represented by The Athenian Democracy and Imperial Rome. He measures degrees of complexity by (a) The

Specialization of Individuals, (b) Amount of Trade, (c) Number of Institutions to Which an Individual May Belong, and (d) Complexity of Institutions.

Because space does not permit more adequate treatment, only Levels I and VI will be cited here to illustrate the logic and workability of this arrangement of source materials. People living on Level I have no full-time specialists, have very little trade, have only one simple institution—the biological family and each individual can therefore belong to only one institution. On Level VI nearly everyone is a specialist in some kind of activity; there is almost complete exchange of products; an individual may belong to hundreds of institutions; and the State is a complex institution with hierarchies of many interlocking departments; equilibrium being maintained by an elaborate system of inter-departmental control. The other four levels move progressively from the simplicity of Level I to the complexity of Level VI.

It is impossible to name here the 20 selections presented, from 1 to 4, to represent each level, and the reviewer does not claim competence to pass on their excellency in comparison to others that might have been selected. He deems it more important to discuss the purpose, method and accomplishment of the whole as a text book in social science.

The author's purpose is to present "by orderly procedure" studies of cultures, "direct, personal observations and reporting of facts, who did what to whom, when, where, and in what fashion." He as much as says that by such a procedure prediction is made possible. He extols the quantitative method or approach because in it "lies the thesis that the main stream or streams of human culture must have proceeded from simpler to more complex." But only by the assignment of societies studied to Levels, by interlineated paragraphs, and sometimes by introductory and concluding remarks are the source materials quantified. It is a question whether other social scientists would appraise these as adequately constituting a quantitative approach.

The author, of course, could do nothing about the absence of quantitative data in the studies he selected but until those who attempt to study whole societies do more adequately quantify both their observations and their presentation of them, "the men who have tried to avoid studying the complexity of modern society" will not "possess the tools with which to explain it" fully. (Preface p. vi.)

This book was avowedly written to serve as an elementary text book in cultural or social anthropology. If I were to teach such a course I would most certainly select it and would make great use of the author's own professional contributions to it. It is a valuable contribution to general readers of whom there should be many. It is also a contribution to social science methodology. But probably its greatest contribution to social scientists is its demonstration that all fields of social science are required to understand a complex, modern society. Even Imperial Rome was not as complex as a non-totalitarian society like democratic America. Each such society is more than "One Complex Political Institution" because it has had diverse origins, is interpenetrated by components of dozens of cultures and in its various parts operates on all of Coon's six Levels and more. Professor Coon sets a task which he and the anthropologists alone cannot complete for its completion will require the synthesis or integration of all the social sciences.

CARL C. TAYLOR.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics
Washington, D. C.

CHECK LIST OF BOOKS

Hume's Moral and Political Philosophy.
Henry D. Aiken, Editor. New York:
Hafner Publishing Company, 1948. Pp.
402. \$3.50.

Selected Papers. Delivered at the 29th annual meeting of American Association of Schools of Social Work. New York:
American Association of Schools of Social Work, 1948. Pp. 63. \$1.00.

The Issue of Compulsory Health. By George W. Bachman and Lewis Merian. Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institute, 1948. Pp. 280. \$4.00. Prepared for Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Wayfaring Lad. By Ivy Bolton. New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1948. \$2.50. A tale of pioneering in the Tennessee country, Junior High and High School.

Administration of Group Work. By Louis H. Blumenthal. New York: Association Press, 1948. Pp. 220. \$3.50.

Malabar Farm. By Louis Bromfield. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948. Pp. 405. \$3.75.

Trends in Social Work as Reflected in the Proceedings of National Conference of Social Work, 1874-1946. By Frank John Bruno. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. 403. \$4.50.

An Annotated Bibliography of Group Practice, 1927-1947. Prepared by Bureau of Medical Economic Research. Chicago: American Medical Association, 1948. Pp. 41. \$0.25 (paper).

The Cumulation of Economic Knowledge. By Arthus F. Burns. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 1948. Pp. 74. (Free) 28th annual report of the National Bureau of Economic Research.

Where I Was Born and Raised. By David L. Cohn. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948. \$4.00.

Frontiers in Human Welfare. Prepared by Community Service Society of New York. New York: Community Service Society, 1948. Pp. 83. \$1.00. The story of a hundred years of service to the community of New York.

Progress of Farm Mechanization. By Martin R. Cooper, Glen T. Barton, and Albert P. Brodell. Washington, D. C.: U. S. D. A. Misc. Pub. No. 630, 1947. Pp. 101. \$0.20.

Wild Horse. By Pers Crowell. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1948. Pp. 338. \$2.50.

- Public Opinion and Propaganda.* By Leonard W. Dood. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1948. Pp. 600. \$4.00.
- Appleseed Farm.* By Emily Taft Douglas. Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948. \$1.50. Juvenile picture of farm life in Indiana.
- Emotional Problems of Living.* By O. Spurgeon English and G. H. J. Pearson. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1948. Pp. 438. \$5.00.
- Social Disorganization.* By Robert E. L. Faris. New York: The Ronald Press, 1948.
- The Rockefeller Foundation: A Review for 1947.* By Raymond B. Fosdick. New York: The Rockefeller Foundation. Pp. 64. (Free).
- The Rural Community and Its School.* By Lorene K. Fox. New York: King's Crown Press, 1948. Pp. xi + 233. \$3.25.
- The Negro Family in the United States* (Rev. ed.). By Edward Franklin Frazier. New York: Dryden Press, 1948. Pp. 392. \$3.75. (Trade edition, \$5.00).
- Lawless Youth.* By Sara Margery Fry and Others. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. Pp. 252. \$3.00.
- Human Ancestry from a Genetical Point of View.* By R. Ruggles Gates. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948. \$7.50.
- About the Kinsey Report.* Donald Porter Geddes and Enid Curie, Editors. New York: New American Library, 1948. Pp. 168. \$0.25. Observations by eleven experts on *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*.
- Reason and Unreason in Society.* By Morris Ginsberg. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948. Pp. 334. \$4.00.
- Alaska Now.* By Herbert H. Hilcher. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1948. \$3.00.
- Life and Morals.* By S. J. Holmes. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. Pp. x + 232. \$3.00.
- Case History of Japan.* By Francis J. Horn-er. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1948. Pp. 278. \$3.00. A history of the structure of Japanese society.
- The Earth's Green Carpet.* By Louise Ernestine Matthaei Howard. Emmaus, Pa.: Rodale Press, 1948. Pp. 258. \$3.00.
- The Growth of Physical Science.* By Sir James Jeans. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. Pp. 364. \$4.00.
- Europe on the Move.* By Eugene M. Kulischer. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. xiv + 372. \$5.00.
- American Democracy: A Commentary and an Interpretation.* By Harold Joseph Laski. New York: The Viking Press, 1948. Pp. 795. \$6.50.
- Personal Power and Leadership.* By Harold Dwight Lasswell. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1948. \$3.00.
- Americans from Hungary.* By Emil Lengyel. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1948. \$4.00.
- Language in Society; The Linguistic Revolution and Social Change.* By Michael Morehead Lewis. New York: Social Sciences Publishers, 1948. Pp. 247. \$3.85.
- American Rural Life.* By David Edgar Lindstrom. New York: The Ronald Press, 1948. Pp. 424. \$4.00.
- The Protestant Church and the Negro.* By Frank S. Loescher. New York: Association Press, 1948. Pp. 159. \$3.00.
- San Antonio's River.* By Louise Lomax. San Antonio: Naylor Company, 1948. Pp. 104. \$2.00.
- The More Perfect Union.* By Robert Morrison MacIver. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. Pp. 317. \$4.00.
- Thomas Jefferson, the Virginian.* By Dumas Malone. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1948. Pp. 504. \$6.00.
- Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of Midwest Conference on Rural Life and Education.* Stillwater: Oklahoma.

- Agric. and Mech. College, Bulletin, Vol. 45, No. 10, 1948. Pp. 104. \$1.00.
- La Escuela Primaria Rural en la Organizacion Escolar.* Ministerio de Agricultura de la Nacion. (Direccion de Informaciones, Pub. Misc. No. 274) Buenos Aires: Republica Argentina (Direccion de Economia Agraria, Division de Sociologia Rural), 1948. Pp. 29. (Free).
- Sociology: A Comparative Outline.* By Kewal Molwani. Bombay: New Book Company, Ltd., 1947. Pp. xii + 196. Rs. 5-12.
- Agricultural Finance.* By W. G. Murray. Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1947. Pp. 372. \$4.00.
- Pogo's Farm Adventure: A Story of the Soil.* By Jo and Ernest Norling. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1948. \$1.50. Juvenile, pages 4-8.
- A New View of Society.* By Robert Owen. (Reproduction of 3rd printing, London, 1817) Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1948. Pp. 184. \$2.00.
- Fijian Village.* By Buell Quain. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948. Pp. xvii + 459. \$5.00.
- The Journal of Criminal Science.* Leon Radzinowicz and James William Cecil Turner, Editors. Vol. 1 (a collection of papers). New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. Pp. 207. \$3.75.
- Mental Health in Modern Society.* By A. C. Rennie and Luther E. Woodward. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1948. Pp. 424. \$4.00.
- Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe: a functional study of nutrition among the southern Bantu.* By Audrey Israel Richards. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1948. Pp. 254. \$3.50.
- Puerto Rico: Caribbean Crossroads.* By Charles E. Rotkin and Lewis C. Richardson. New York: U. S. Camera Publishing Company, 1947. Pp. 144. \$3.50. A photographic presentation.
- Fatherland.* By Bertram H. Schaffner. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. x + 234. \$3.25.
- What Comes of Training Women for War.* By Dorothy Schaffter. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1948. \$3.00.
- The Freudian Psychology and Veblen's Social Theory.* By Louis Schneider. New York: King's Crown Press, 1948. Pp. 280. \$3.25.
- Agricultural Price Policy.* By G. S. Sheperd. Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1947. Pp. vi + 440. \$4.50.
- Colonies in Bondage.* By Abbot Emerson Smith. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948. \$5.00.
- Backgrounds of American Living.* By R. K. Speer, Ray Lussenhop, and Lena S. Blanton. New York: Hynds, Hayden & Eldredge, Inc., 1947. Pp. viii + 374. \$1.60 Juvenile.
- The Bright-Tobacco Industry, 1860-1927.* By Nannie M. Tilley. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948. Pp. xiv + 754. \$8.00.
- Social Psychology.* By Wayland Farries Vaughan. New York: Odyssey Press, 1948. Pp. 974. \$5.00.
- The Negro Ghetto.* By Robert C. Weaver. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1948. Pp. 422. \$3.75.
- Cultural Geography of the Modern Tarascan Area.* (Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology Pub. No. 7). By Robert C. West. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948. Pp. vi + 77 + 7 pp. plates (paper). \$0.75.
- Twenty-Five Years of Crusading, A History of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference.* By Raymond P. Witte. Des Moines: National Catholic Rural Life Conference, 1948. Pp. xviii + 274. Regular edition, \$3.00. Deluxe, \$5.00.
- Interracial Programs of Student YWCA's* By Yolanda B. Wilkerson. New York:

The Woman's Press, 1948. Pp. xv + 159. \$2.00.

Censo Nacional de Poblacion de 1940, Republica del Peru. Vol III, Departamentos: Lambayeque, Libertad, Ancash. Pp. 151. Gratuita. Vol. IV, De-

partamentos: Huanuco, Junin. Pp. 135. Gratuita. Lima, Peru: Direccion Nacional de Estadistica. Ministerio de Hacienda y Comercio.

Boletin. Ano VI, No. 2. Lima, Peru: 1947. Pp. 172. (Free) Three anthropometrical studies of school children.

A
C
I
me
in
thi
the
of
the
rec
ing
anc
M
M
M
S
has
join
cal
R
bot
att
log
in
Soc
pro
for
hel
Dec
Am
ma
hot
S
me
the
cer
pro
soci
ber
par
hav
ves

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Leland B. Tate

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Congress Hotel, Chicago, December 28-30

In attempting to obtain guidance from members of the Rural Sociological Society in making plans for the meeting to be held this year two questionnaires were sent out: the first to a sample of seventy members of the Society; the second to the officers of the Society. We allowed three choices, and received the following results after weighting first choices as 3, second choices as 2, and third choices as 1:

Meet alone at Saint Mary's Lake in Michigan in August—77

Meet with the Scientific groups in Cleveland in December—53

Meet with the American Sociological Society in Chicago in December—107

Since the poll went out, Franklin Frazier has written saying he would welcome two joint programs with the American Sociological Society.

Each of the officers has indicated that both in terms of preference and anticipated attendance, the plan to hold the Rural Sociological Society Annual Meeting in Chicago in December with the American Sociological Society takes priority over any alternative proposal. Accordingly plans are being made for the Rural Sociological Meeting to be held at the Congress Hotel in Chicago December 28-30th in conjunction with the American Sociological Society. Reservations may be made by writing directly to the hotel.

Special meetings may be held either immediately prior to or immediately following the regular meetings in order to permit certain groups to get together and discuss problems of mutual interest. The Extension sociologists represent one such group; members of the American Library Association particularly interested in rural library work have indicated a similar desire. We are investigating further the degree of interest in

such special meetings and will make announcements regarding plans in the December issue of *Rural Sociology*.

Charles P. Loomis, President

Edgar A. Schuler, Chairman

Planning Committee for the annual meeting

Brigham Young University. Two new members, Mr. Ray Canning and Mr. Wilford Smith, have been added to the Department of Sociology for next year. Both men have their masters degree and are studying at the University of Southern California and the University of Washington, respectively, for the Ph.D. degree.

The Department of Sociology was one of the sponsors of a Family Life Institute held at the University during the week of June 21-25. Dr. Howard E. Wilkening of the University of California at Los Angeles was a special lecturer.

Cornell University. Professor L. S. Cottrell, Jr., resigned as Head of the Department of Rural Sociology July 1, 1948 to become Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Cornell University. Professor Robert A. Polson was appointed as Acting Head.

Professor W. A. Anderson sailed from China for this country on June 30. He arrived in San Francisco July 24 and after visiting with his daughter and her family in Seattle, Washington returned to Ithaca in August.

Dr. William W. Reeder has been appointed to an assistant professorship. His duties will be teaching and research.

Dr. Howard E. Thomas joined the staff on July 1, 1948 as an associate professor to work on the farm labor phase of the department's expansive program. He is not new to Cornell since he received his Ph.D. here in June 1945. Last year he taught at Colorado Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Professor R. C. Clark spent four weeks

in Bethel, Maine, on the teaching staff of the Second National Training Laboratory in Group Development. He served as coordinator for clinics in special areas of group discussions, conference planning, communication and socio-drama. He also served as coordinator for the eight agricultural extension persons present, four of whom were from Puerto Rico. Harold Capener, a graduate student, also attended this training laboratory.

William E. Skelton is to be an assistant in the department during 1948-49. He is working on a 4-H leadership study.

Harold Capener, Lee Coleman and William Forsyth are continuing their studies in the Odessa area.

Edward Moe is making a community area study in Richfield Springs-Van Hornesville. He will be an assistant in the department with the beginning of the fall term.

Kansas State College; University of Nebraska. Kansas Agricultural Experiment Station has just published *Rural Communities and Organizations*, a study of group life in Ellis County, Kansas. It is a cooperative study with the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life. Authors are A. H. Anderson, U.S.D.A., Social Science Analyst at Nebraska's College of Agriculture, and Randall C. Hill, Professor of Sociology, Kansas State College. It is a 51 page bulletin in a series of studies carried out in counties selected to represent major types of farming areas in the United States. Ellis County is representative of the Central Wheat Area.

Ohio State University. A highly functional approach is being undertaken in the teaching of rural sociology courses in the Ohio State University College of Agriculture. In order to make these courses of greater service to students emphasis is on facts, principles, and practices of effective living in modern society. Special attention is given to personality development, marriage and family living, occupational adjustment, and group participation including discussion techniques.

The rural sociology section is continuing its cooperative research in mental and social

health in western Ohio. Funds for this social science program have been provided largely through the Division of Mental Hygiene, Ohio State Department of Public Welfare. These monies come in part from State appropriations and in part from allocations under the terms of the National Mental Health Act. This project, started in Miami County in 1946, is being extended to other areas. Emphasis is on problems of personal and social adjustment in the family, in education, in industry, and in neighborhood and community.

Dr. M. Taylor Matthews has joined the staff to make special studies of adjustment problems of migrant families from the Appalachian-Ozark Mountain areas to Ohio. R. H. Woodward of Iowa will join the research staff to make special studies of school mental health. Dr. A. R. Mangus is serving as Research Director.

Among the practical outcomes of this project is the establishment of the Upper Miami Valley Guidance Center in Miami County. This is the first center of its kind to serve rural people.

Purdue University. Dr. Harold E. Smith formerly of the University of Akron has joined the staff as assistant professor of Agricultural Sociology. A graduate of Penn State, Dr. Smith took his advance degrees at V. P. I. and Cornell. He will do research and extension in the fields of community organization and leadership.

Dr. J. Edwin Losey in charge of Agricultural Sociology has been named director of the annual Rural Leadership School. Formerly operating out of the Administration Office of the University the school is now one of the regular short course offerings of the College of Agriculture.

University of Puerto Rico. Professor Clarence Senior has resigned as director of the Social Service Research Center, University of Puerto Rico, to become associate director of the Puerto Rican Migration Study at the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University.

Mr. Simon Rottenberg has been appointed acting director of the Center.

University of Connecticut. The Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station announces the publication of Bulletin No. 261, "Rural Social Organization in Litchfield County, Connecticut," by Henry W. Riecken, Jr. and N. L. Whetten.

Dr. Whetten has been requested to prepare a paper entitled "Sociology and the Conservation of Renewable Natural Resources" to be presented at the Inter-American Conference on Conservation to be held at Denver, Colorado, from September 7 to 20, 1948.

Dr. Walter C. McKain, Jr. is preparing a paper entitled "Emerging Population Patterns in Connecticut that offer a Challenge to Librarians" to be delivered before the Library Institute meetings at Yale University, November 10 and 11, 1948.

DePauw University. Pre-registration in the Department of Sociology indicates a record enrollment for 1948-49. Mr. Raymond Mulligan who joined the staff last year as instructor has been advanced to assistant professor. There are now four full time men in the Department. Rural sociology receives a rather minor interest as the majority of DePauw students are from urban areas.

Harvard University. Harper & Brothers is bringing out in November a new volume by Carle C. Zimmerman on *The Family of Tomorrow*.

University of Illinois, College of Agriculture. David E. Lindstrom is the author of two books now available for college and general use. One entitled *American Farmers' and Rural Organizations* is published by Garrard Press, Campaign, Illinois; the other, entitled *American Rural Life*, is published by Ronald Press, New York.

Clinton L. Folse has been added to the staff as assistant in research. His first job probably will be to help organize and get under way a new project on a community approach to soil conservation. He is working for his Doctor's degree at Louisiana State University and will complete his thesis this fall.

University of Kentucky. The Sociology Department has established a social Research Consultation Service for the purpose of assisting the citizens of Kentucky in their efforts to gather and interpret facts about their local communities prior to launching a community-wide program; improve the efficiency of the organizations for which they are responsible, and analyze the significant social trends of the day as an aid to better planning for business, local government, education, or church work.

The Social Research Consultation Service is primarily advisory. It exists to help community, institutional, and club leaders conduct their own surveys but members of the Sociology Department will be available for consultation in any stages of a given project. The purpose behind the service is not necessarily to encourage more surveys (many communities and organizations are almost "surveyed" to death), but to be sure that the surveys which are made possess real scientific merit and will prove useful when far-reaching community or organizational decisions have to be made.

University of North Dakota. Dr. T. Wilson Cape, Acting Head of the Department of Sociology and Director of the Division of Social Work has passed away at age 55. He was a native of Wisconsin, a graduate of its University, and formerly President of the American Association of University Professors.

University of Wisconsin. Carl C. Taylor served as visiting professor of rural sociology during the summer session. He offered advanced courses in rural social trends, and rural social regions. The enrollment in his courses included graduate students from several foreign countries as well as all sections of the United States.

George W. Hill served as chairman of the Governor's Committee on the Resettlement of Displaced Persons. His preliminary report of the findings of a state wide survey to determine the number of refugees who could be absorbed in Wisconsin has been submitted to the Governor.

J. H. Kolb has recently been named chairman of the University Graduate Division of the Social Studies. William H. Sewell is secretary of the Executive Committee of the Social Studies.

A. F. Wileden taught a course in rural social trends in the Summer School for Extension Workers which was held on the campus, June 28 to July 17.

John R. Barton who was recently named to the Governor's Library Committee is currently engaged in a study of rural libraries in Wisconsin. This research is sponsored by the graduate school.

Graduate assistants in rural sociology for the academic year 1948-49 include: James B. Tarver, B. S. Texas A. & M., M. A. University of Wisconsin; William A. DeHart, B. A. Brigham Young University, M. A. University of Minnesota; Margaret L. Bright, B. A. University of California, M. A. University of Missouri; Frank E. Rector, B. A. Phillips University, M. A. Oklahoma A. & M.; Harvey Schweitzer, B. S. Northern Illinois State College, M. A. Michigan State College; and June H. Gardiner, B. A. and M. A. Utah State College. Pablo Vasquez, B. A. University of Puerto Rico, M. A. University of Wisconsin, was awarded a scholarship by the University of Wisconsin for the year 1948-49.

Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas. The courses in Agricultural Journalism that have been in the Rural Sociology Department for twenty years have been transferred from the department to a Department of Journalism in the Liberal Arts

School. This was caused by an increase in enrollment in these courses and increased interest in Journalism in our department at A. & M.

The department sponsored the Third Annual Rural Church Conference at A. & M. from June 28 to July 2. Ten denominations cooperated in this project. Outstanding leaders in rural church work in all denominations participated. Enrollment was larger than any of the previous conferences.

The department has under way at the present time the following research projects: (a) Rural Health Problems and Needs by Counties and Type-of-Farming Areas in Texas. (b) The Critical Study of Co-operative Hospitals in the United States, with Special Emphasis on Texas. (c) Infant Mortality with Maternal Deaths by Counties and Type-of-Farming Areas, with Special Emphasis on Racial Aspects.

The University of Connecticut. Dr. James H. Barnett has been appointed Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, succeeding Dr. James Lowell Hypes, the retiring chairman. Dr. Hypes will remain a full-time member of the teaching staff of the Department. Mr. Harry Posman, a graduate student of Columbia University, has been appointed Instructor in Sociology for the academic year.

The University of Chicago Press has recently announced the publication of "Rural Mexico," by Dr. Nathan L. Whetten, Professor of Rural Sociology and Dean of the Graduate School of the University of Connecticut.

in
ed
at

an-
M.
ons
ad-
na-
ger

the
roj-
eds
in
er-
rith
ant
ies
cial

Dr.
air-
and
well
will
ing
nan,
ity,
ogy

re-
ural
fes-
the
Con-